SEQUEL

OF THE

AGE

OF

LOUIS XIV.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A

SUMMARY

OF THE

AGE of LOUIS XV.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GENEVA EDITION OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE,

WITH

NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY,

By R. GRIFFITH, Esq.

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A SUM-

A SUMMARY OF THE AGE OF LOUIS XV.

CHAP. I.

The State of Europe, on the Death of Louis XIV.

WE have given to ſome extent an idea of the Age of Louis XIV.; an Age of great men, of the fine arts, and of politeneſs. It was marked, 'tis true, like all others, by calamities both public and private, which are inſeparable from human nature; but all that could conſole men in the miſery of this feeble and periſhable ſtate, ſeemed to be laviſhed on this æra.

Let us now ſee what followed this reign; tempeſtuous in the commencement; ſhining with the greateſt luſtre during fifty years; blended afterwards with great adverſities, and ſome good fortune; and concluding in a ſadneſs gloomy enough, after having begun in factious turbulency.

Louis XV. was left an orphan, at a time when it would have been too tedious, difficult, and dangerous, to aſſemble the general eſtates of the Sept. 1715.

Kingdom, to regulate the pretenſions made to the regency. The Parliament of Paris had formerly given it to two Queens *; they gave it now to the Duke of Orleans. They had ſet aſide the teſtament of Louis XIII.; they now ſet aſide that of his ſucceſſor Louis XIV. Philip, Duke of Orleans, grandſon of France, was declared abſolute maſter, by the very Parliament he ſoon after ſent into exile †.

* Mary de Medicis, and Anne of Auſtria. *Tranſlator.*

† The author of the pretended Memoirs of Madame Maintenon, and of the notes inſerted by Beaumelle in his edition of the Age of Louis XIV. publiſhed at Frankfort, has boldly advanced that the great hall of the palace was, on this occaſion, filled with officers, who had arms concealed under their clothes. This is not true; I was myſelf there, and ſaw many more lawyers than either officers or other people. There was not the leaſt appearance of party, much leſs of tumult. It had indeed been the greateſt folly to introduce partizans with concealed arms, to irritate the minds of the people, who were then univerſally diſpoſed in favour of the Duke of Orleans. There was only a detachment of French and Swiſs guards on duty about the palace.

This ſtory of the great hall's being filled with armed officers, is taken from the Memoirs of the Regency and the Life of Philip Duke of Orleans; contemptible productions printed in Holland, and replete with falſhood.

The author of de Maintenon's Memoirs tells us, that "The Preſident Lubert, the firſt Preſident de Maiſons, and many other Members of the Aſſembly, were ready to declare againſt the Duke of Orleans." It is true, there was at that time a Preſident de Lubert; but he was only a Preſident aûx Enquetes; an office which does not intermeddle with public affairs. He had never been firſt Preſident de Maiſons. It was Claude de Meſmes, by name d'Avaux, who then enjoyed that department. M. de Maiſons, brother-in-law to Marſhal Villars, was Preſident à mortier, and ſtrongly attached to the Duke of Orleans. It was at his very houſe that the Marquis de Canillac and ſome other confidents of the Prince, had ſettled the plan of the regency. To him alſo was promiſed the place of Keeper of the Seals; but he died ſoon after. Theſe are known facts, to which I myſelf was witneſs, and which are recorded in the manuſcript Memoirs of Marſhal Villars. The compiler of the Memoirs of Maintenon obſerves on this occaſion, that in the treaty of Raſtadt, entered into by Marſhal Villars and Prince Eugene, "there were certain ſecret articles by which the Duke of Orleans was excluded the throne." This is falſe and abſurd; there was no ſecret article in the treaty of Raſtadt, which was an authentic treaty of peace. Such ſecret articles are inſerted only in treaties among confederates, who are deſirous of concealing the tenor of their conventions from the public. To exclude the Duke of Orleans from the throne, would have been to give,

in

The better to comprehend by what blind fatality the affairs of this world are governed, it is neceſſary to remark, that the Ottoman Empire, which might have attacked that of Germany, during the tedious war of 1701, waited for the concluſion of the general peace, to make war on Chriſtendom. In 1715, the Turks eaſily made themſelves maſters of Peloponneſus, which the celebrated Moroſini, ſurnamed the Peloponneſiac, had taken from them, toward the end of the ſeventeenth century, and which was left in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz. The Emperor, who was guarantee of that treaty, was hence obliged to declare himſelf againſt the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had formerly beaten them at Zante *, paſſed the Danube, and gave battle, near Peterwaradin, to the Grand Vizir Ali, favourite of Sultan Achmet the Third, and obtained a moſt ſignal victory.

Though the relation of particular circumſtances does not enter into a general plan of hiſtory, we cannot omit here an account of the ſignal bravery of a French officer, celebrated for his remarkable adventures. Count Bonneval, who, upon ſome diſagreement with the Miniſtry, had quitted the ſervice of France, was then a Major-General under Prince Eugene, and happened in this battle to find himſelf ſurrounded by a numerous body of Janiſſaries. With the aſſiſtance only of two hundred men of his own regiment, he withſtood the attack of the Turks, above an hour; and being diſabled by the ſtroke of a lance, was carried off by ten ſoldiers, all that remained of his corps, to the victorious army.

The ſame man, at that time baniſhed from France, returned afterwards, and was publicly married at Paris;

in caſe of accident, the Crown of France to Philip V. of Spain, competitor of the Emperor Charles VI. with whom that treaty was made. This had been to deſtroy the whole fabric of the peace of Utrecht, to which France had given the finiſhing ſtroke; it would have been an inſult to the Emperor, and the deſtruction of the balance of power in Europe. Nothing can be more abſurd than this ſuggeſtion. *Voltaire.*

* An Iſland of the Mediterranean.

ſome years after which he repaired to Conſtantinople, turned Muſſulman, and died a Baſhaw.

The Grand Vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle; and as the manners of the Turks were not then civilized, he gave orders before his death for the maſſacre of one of the Emperor's generals, who had been taken priſoner *.

1717. Prince Eugene beſieged Belgrade the following year, in which place was a garriſon of near fifteen thouſand men. At the ſame time he found himſelf beſieged by an innumerable body of Turks, who advanced towards his camp and entrenched themſelves around him. Finding himſelf in the ſame ſituation as Cæſar at the ſiege of Aleſia, he extricated himſelf in the ſame manner, by firſt beating the enemy in the field, and then taking the town. His army was in the moſt imminent danger of deſtruction; but military diſcipline triumphed over ſuperior numbers and undiſciplined valour.

This Prince carried his glory to the higheſt pitch by the peace of Paſſarowitz, which gave Belgrade and Temeſwar to the Emperor; but the Venetians, for whoſe ſake the war originally commenced, were abandoned, and irretrievably loſt their poſſeſſions in Greece.

The face of affairs underwent as great a change among the Chriſtian potentates. The union and good underſtanding between France and Spain, which had appeared ſo formidable, and had ſo much alarmed the ſeveral States of Europe, was deſtroyed as ſoon as the eyes of Louis XIV. were cloſed. The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, though irreproachable with regard to his ſolicitude for the ſervice of his ward, behaved as if he himſelf was to ſucceed to the throne. He entered into a ſtrict alliance with England, the reputed natural enemy of France, and came to an open rupture with the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Bourbon. On the other hand, Philip the Fifth, who had renounced the Crown of France by the peace, excited, or rather lent his name

† His name was Breuner.

for

for exciting, ſeditions in France, which might poſſibly procure him the regency of a country where he could not reign. Thus, after the death of Louis XIV. all the views, all the negociations, and the entire ſyſtem of politics became changed in his own family, and among all the other Princes.

Cardinal Alberoni, firſt Miniſter of Spain, took it into his head to overturn all Europe, and was very near accompliſhing his end. He had in a few years re-eſtabliſhed the finances and troops of the Spaniſh monarchy, and formed the project of recovering Sardinia, then in the hands of the Emperor; and Sicily, of which the Dukes of Savoy had been in poſſeſſion, ever ſince the peace of Utrecht. He was going to change the conſtitution of England, in order to prevent any oppoſition to his deſign; and was on the point of raiſing a civil war in France, with the ſame view. At one and the ſame time, he negociated with the Porte, the Czar Peter the Great of Ruſſia, and Charles XII. He was on the point of engaging the Turks to renew the war againſt the Emperor; while Charles XII. ſeconded by the Czar, was in perſon to conduct the Pretender to England, and reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors. This Cardinal effected an inſurrection in Britany, and had already cauſed a number of troops, diſguiſed like ſalt-ſmugglers, to march ſecretly under the conduct of one Colincri, to join the inſurgents. The conſpiracy of the Ducheſs of Maine, Cardinal Polignac, and ſeveral others, was ripe for execution. The intention was, if poſſible, to ſeize the perſon of the Duke of Orleans, to deprive him of the regency, and to give it to Philip V. King of Spain. Thus Cardinal Alberoni, formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, would have been at once Prime Miniſter of France and Spain, and have given an entire new face to all Europe.

An accident diſappointed all theſe vaſt projects. A ſimple courtezan at Paris betrayed the conſpiracy, which the moment it was diſcovered became impracticable.

This affair deſerves a detail, which may ſhew how the moſt trifling incidents become often deciding deſtinies.

The Prince de Cellamare, Ambaſſador from Spain to Paris, had the whole conduct of this conſpiracy. He had in his train the young Abbé de Porto-Carrero, who was ſerving his apprenticeſhip in politics and pleaſure. A common woman, named *Fillon*, formerly a girl of the town in the loweſt claſs, become ſince a noted procureſs, ſupplied girls to this young man. She had long ſerved Abbé du Bois, then Secretary of State for foreign affairs, afterwards Cardinal and Prime Miniſter, in the ſame capacity. But he employed her now in a new department. She inſtructed one of her nimble-fingered pupils, who ſtole ſome important papers, along with a few Bank bills, out of Abbé Carrero's pockets. The bills ſhe kept herſelf, but the letters were carried to the Duke of Orleans, and afforded light ſufficient to detect the conſpiracy, tho' not enough to diſcover the entire plan.

The Abbé Porto-Carrero having miſſed his papers, and not being able to find the girl, inſtantly ſet out for Spain; but was purſued, and arreſted near Poitiers. The ſcheme of the plot was found in his portmantua, with ſome letters from the Prince de Cellamare. The deſign was to cauſe a part of the Kingdom to revolt, and excite a civil war; and what is very remarkable, the Ambaſſador, while he talks of ſetting fire to magazines of gunpowder, and the ſpringing of mines, ſpeaks alſo of the *divine mercy*. And to whom was he addreſſing himſelf? To Cardinal Alberoni, a man as much penetrated with the *divine mercy*, as Cardinal du Bois his competitor.

Alberoni, at the ſame time that he was to overthrow France, meant to place the pretended ſon of King James on the Throne of England, by the aſſiſtance of Charles XII*. Charles was killed in Norway, but Alberoni was not diſcouraged. He had provided himſelf with ſo many reſources, that ſome part of his projects had begun already to take effect. The fleet he had fitted out made a deſcent on Sardinia, in the year 1717, and in a few days reduced it under ſubjection to Spain; and ſoon after he got poſſeſſion of almoſt all Sicily.

* He has told us ſo a very few paragraphs before. Mr. Voltaire forgets himſelf often, as Cervantes does. He has not his *wit*, but his *memory*. *Tranſlator.*

But

But Alberoni not being able to ſucceed, either in preventing the Turks concluding a peace with the Emperor Charles VI. or in exciting the intended civil wars in France and England, ſaw all at once the Emperor, the Regent of France, and King George I. united againſt him.

The Regent of France, in concert with the Engliſh, made war on Spain: ſo that the firſt war undertaken by Louis XV. was againſt his uncle, whom Louis XIV. had, at the expence of ſo much blood, eſtabliſhed on his throne. This was in fact a kind of civil war.

The King of Spain had taken care to have the three flowers-de-luce painted on all the colours of his army. The ſame duke of Berwick who had won ſo many battles to eſtabliſh his throne, now commanded the French army. The Duke of Liria, his ſon, was a general 1719. officer in the Spaniſh ſervice. The father exhorted his ſon, in a very pathetic letter, bravely to diſcharge his duty againſt himſelf. The Abbé Dubois, afterwards Cardinal, a child of fortune like Alberoni, and equally ſingular in his character, directed the whole enterprize. It was La Motte Houdart who drew up the manifeſto, which was never ſigned.

The Engliſh fleet obtaining a victory over that of Spain near Meſſina, the ſchemes of Cardinal Alberoni were all diſconcerted; and this Miniſter, who but ſix months before was admired as the greateſt ſtateſman in the world, was looked upon, ever after, as a raſh and inconſiderate projector. The Duke of Orleans would not make peace with Philip V. but on condition that he ſhould diſmiſs his Miniſter; and he was delivered by the King of Spain to the French troops, which conducted him to the frontiers of Italy.

This ſame man being afterwards legate at Bologna, and having no power to ſubvert Kingdoms, employed his leiſure in attempting to ruin the little Republic of St. Marino.

The reſult of all his great deſigns, however, proved to be, that Sicily was agreed to be given to the Emperor

1720. Charles VI. and Sardinia to the Dukes of Savoy, who have poſſeſſed that Iſland ever ſince, and now bear the title of Kings of Sardinia. But the Houſe of Auſtria has loſt the Iſland of Sicily.

Theſe public events are ſufficiently known; but what is not, and yet is very certain, is, that when the Regent wanted to make it a condition of peace, that his daughter, Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier, ſhould marry the Prince of the Aſturias, Don Louis, and that the Infanta of Spain ſhould be given in marriage to the King of France, he could not effect his deſign without applying to the Jeſuit d'Aubanton, Confeſſor of Philip V. This Jeſuit prevailed on the King of Spain to conſent to this double marriage; but it was on condition that the Duke of Orleans, who had declared himſelf againſt the Jeſuits, ſhould become their protector, and cauſe the Conſtitution to be regiſtered. He promiſed it, and kept his word. Such are often the ſecret ſprings of great revolutions, both in church and ſtate.

This affair was managed ſolely by the Abbé Dubois, intended Archbiſhop of Cambray, and in effect procured him his Cardinal's hat. He cauſed the bull to be implicitly regiſtered, as has been already ſaid, by the grand Council, or rather in ſpite of the grand Council, by the Princes of the blood, the Dukes and Peers, the Marſhals of France, the Counſellors of State, the Maſters of the Requeſts; and particularly by the Chancellor d'Agueſſeau himſelf, who had ſo long oppoſed its acceptance. The Abbé Dubois obtained even a recantation from Cardinal de Noailles. The Regent of France found himſelf by this intrigue connected for ſome time in the ſame intereſts with the Jeſuit d'Aubanton.

Philip V. began to be attacked by a melancholy, which, joined to his devotion, led him to renounce the cares of a throne, and to reſign his crown to his eldeſt ſon, Don Louis; a deſign which he afterwards put in execution, in the year 1724. This ſecret he imparted to d'Aubanton, who trembled to think he ſhould loſe all his power when his penitent would be no longer maſter; and

and that he ſhould be reduced to follow him into ſolitude.

He revealed to the Duke of Orleans the confeſſion of Philip V. not doubting but that Prince would exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to prevent the King of Spain's abdication. The Regent had different views; and was ſatisfied with the proſpect of ſeeing his ſon-in-law a King; and that a Jeſuit, who had ſo much controuled his inclinations in the affairs of the Conſtitution, ſhould be no longer in a ſituation to preſcribe conditions to him. He ſent d'Aubanton's letter to the King of Spain. That Monarch very coolly ſhewed it to his Confeſſor, who fainted at the ſight, and died in a ſhort time after *.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the State of Europe. Regency of the Duke of Orleans. The Syſtem of Law, or Laſs †.

NOTHING could be more aſtoniſhing to the ſeveral Courts of Europe, than to ſee, ſome time after, in the years 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly ſo much at enmity with each other, now ſtrictly united; the courſe of political affairs taking ſo different a turn from their natural channel, that the Spaniſh Miniſtry governed the Court of Vienna for the ſpace of a whole year. This Court, whoſe intention had ever been to prevent the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of

* This fact is atteſted in the civil hiſtory of Spain, written by Bellando, and printed by expreſs commiſſion of the Spaniſh Court. It may be found in the Library of the Cordeliers at Paris. The reader may turn to page 306, part the fourth. I have now the copy before me. This perfidy of d'Aubanton, of a ſpecies more common than is generally imagined, is well known to more than one of the Spaniſh grandees, who confirm it. *Voltaire.*

† I do not know from what authority M. Voltaire has given us this ſynonyma; but as it is inſerted in the text, I have let it ſtand in the tranſlation. *Tranſlator.*

Bourbon

Bourbon having acceſs to Italy, ſuffered itſelf to be ſo far diverted from its former views, as to receive a ſon of Philip V. and of Elizabeth of Parma, his ſecond wife, into the very country, from which it had been hitherto deſirous of excluding every Frenchman and Spaniard. The Emperor conferred on this youngeſt ſon of his competitor, the inveſtiture of Parma, Placentia, and the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany; and though there was no vacancy in the ſucceſſion to thoſe eſtates, Don Carlos took poſſeſſion of them, with ſix thouſand Spaniards; and it coſt Spain but two hundred thouſand piſtoles given to Vienna.

This error in politics committed by the Emperor, was not one of thoſe which may be called fortunate; on the contrary, it coſt him very dear in the ſequel. Every thing was ſtrange in this coalition; it was an union between two Houſes at mutual enmity, who placed no confidence in each other; it was the Engliſh, who had done every thing in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Gibraltar and Minorca, who were the mediators of this treaty; it was a Dutchman, Ripperda, now become a Duke, and all-powerful in Spain, that was the perſon who ſigned it; for which he was afterwards diſgraced, and retired to end his days in the Kingdom of Morocco, where he attempted to eſtabliſh a new religion.

In the mean time, in France, the regency of the Duke of Orleans, which his ſecret enemies, and the general diſorder of the finances, might have rendered the moſt factious and turbulent of all regencies, had proved on the contrary the moſt peaceable and happy. That habit of obedience which the French Nation had been uſed to under Louis XIV. was at once the ſecurity of the Regent, and of the public tranquility. The conſpiracy, projected at a diſtance by Cardinal Alberoni, and badly conducted in France, was ſuppreſſed almoſt as ſoon as formed. The Parliament, which, in the minority of Louis XIV. had cauſed a civil war about the diſpoſal of a dozen places in the Court of Requeſts, and had annulled the teſtaments of Louis XIII. and

Louis

Louis XIV. with leſs formality than they would have done the will of a private perſon, had ſcarcely the liberty of making remonſtrances when the nominal value of the coin was raiſed to thrice its former ſtandard. The ſolemnity of their walking from the great hall to the Louvre, afforded only matter of raillery to the people. The moſt unjuſt edict that ever was made, that of reſtraining every inhabitant in the Kingdom from keeping above five hundred livres in caſh by him at a time, excited not the leaſt commotion. The total want of current ſpecie for the uſes of the public; a whole people preſſing in crowds to an office, to receive the money neceſſary to procure the conveniencies of life, in exchange for notes cried down, with which France was overwhelmed; a number of citizens preſſed to death in this crowd, and their dead bodies carried by the populace before the royal palace; produced not the leaſt appearance of ſedition. Finally, the famous project of Law, which ſeemed calculated to ruin at once the Regency and the State, was, in fact, the ſupport of both the one and the other; and that by conſequences which nobody had foreſeen.

The covetouſneſs which it excited among perſons of all conditions, even from the loweſt of the people up to Magiſtrates, Biſhops, and Princes, diverted their minds from all attention to the public good, or to any political or ambitious view, by poſſeſſing them wholly with the fear of loſs, and the hope of gain. It was a new and extraordinary kind of game, in which the whole people were betting one againſt another. The gameſters were too eager to lay down their cards to diſturb the repoſe of government. It happened, by means of an illuſion, the ſprings of which could be only viſible to the moſt clear and experienced eyes, that this ſcheme, chimerical as it was, gave birth to a real commerce, and was the cauſe of the revival of the Eaſt-India Company, which had been ſet on foot by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the ſucceeding wars. In a word, though a number of private fortunes were ſacrificed, the Nation preſently became

became more rich and commercial. This project enlightened minds, as the civil wars whetted courage.

It was an epidemical diſtemper that ſpread itſelf from France into Holland and England, and is well deſerving the attention of poſterity. For it was not the political intereſts of two or three princes that involved whole kingdoms in confuſion; it was the people themſelves, who ran precipitately into a folly, that enriched ſo many families at the expence of others, whom it reduced to beggary. The origin of this phrenzy, preceded and followed by ſo many others, was this.

A Scotchman, named John Law *, whom we name John Laſs †, a man who had no other profeſſion than that of a gameſter and calculator of chances, having been obliged to fly from England for a murder, had long ſince formed the plan of a Company, that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburſe itſelf by its profits. This plan was very complicated, but, confined within proper bounds, might have been made very uſeful. It was an imitation of the Bank of England, and its Eaſt-India Company. He propoſed its eſtabliſhment firſt to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, afterwards the firſt king of Sardinia; who rejected it, ſaying, he was not powerful enough to ruin himſelf. He propoſed it next to the Comptroller-general Deſmarets; but this was during an unſucceſsful war, when public credit, which was the baſis of the ſyſtem, was deſtroyed.

At length, he found every circumſtance favourable under the regency of the duke of Orleans: the French nation had a debt of two hundred millions to diſcharge, the peace had left the government at leiſure, and both prince and people were fond of novelties.

In 1716, he eſtabliſhed a bank in his own name. It ſoon became the general Exchequer-office for the revenue of the kingdom. It was united with the Miſſiſſippi Company; a trading Company, from which were

* He is ſaid to have been the ſon of a Goldſmith, in the falſe memoirs of the Regency. *Voltaire.*

† See the note upon the argument of this chapter. *Tranſlator.*

ex-

expected great advantages. Seduced by the allurements of gain, the public bought up the joint ſtock of the Company and bank with great avidity.

The wealth of the kingdom, which had been long confined in private hands, in diſtruſt of public credit, now circulated in great profuſion; the notes increaſing that wealth in a double, a quadruple degree. France was in fact enriched by credit; while all ranks of people indulged themſelves in a luxury, which extended even to her neighbours, who took a part in this kind of commerce.

The bank was declared the king's bank, in 1718, and took upon it the management of the trade to Senegal. It acquired alſo the privileges of the old Eaſt-India Company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had ſince fallen to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo. At length, it engroſſed the farming of the national taxes. Every thing was now in the hands of the Scotchman Law, and the finances of the whole Kingdom depended on a trading Company.

This Company appeared to be eſtabliſhed on ſuch large foundations, that a ſhare in its ſtock roſe to above twenty times its original value. The Duke of Orleans undoubtedly committed a great fault in leaving the public thus to itſelf. It would have been eaſy for Government to have given a check to this phrenzy; but the avarice of the courtiers, and the hopes of profiting by this diſorder, prevented the putting a ſtop to it. The frequent riſe and fall of the Company's ſtocks, afforded an opportunity for obſcure perſons to make immenſe fortunes; many of them becoming in a few months richer than ſeveral princes.

Even Law himſelf, deceived by his own ſcheme, and intoxicated with the public folly as well as his own, had fabricated ſo many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded, fourſcore times, the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. The Government paid all its annuitants in paper.

But

But the Regent found himſelf incapable of managing ſo immenſe and complicated a machine, the rapidity of whoſe motion hurried him away, in ſpite of himſelf. The late financiers and the great bankers, in conjunction, exhauſted the royal bank, by drawing on it for conſiderable ſums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into ſpecie; but the diſproportion was enormous. Public credit dropt all at once. The Regent made an attempt to recover it by iſſuing arrets, that effectually cruſhed it. Nothing was offered in payment but paper; ſo that a real poverty began to ſucceed a profuſion of imaginary riches.

It was juſt at this criſis that the office of comptroller of the finances was given to Law; a criſis at which it was impoſſible he ſhould fulfil the duties of it. This was in the year 1720; the æra of the ruin of all the private fortunes of individuals, and of the finances of the Kingdom.

In a ſhort time after, he was converted from a Scotchman into a Frenchman, by naturalization; from a proteſtant to a catholic; from a mere adventurer into a lord poſſeſſed of the fineſt landed eſtate in the kingdom; and from a banker into a miniſter of ſtate.

I ſaw him myſelf paſs through the galleries of the palace royal, followed by dukes and peers, marſhals of France, and biſhops.

Diſorder and confuſion were at the utmoſt height. The parliament of Paris made what oppoſition it could to theſe innovations, and was baniſhed to Pontoiſe.

But Law himſelf, loaded with the public execration, was the ſame year obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a poſt-chaiſe that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon Condé, taking with him only about two thouſand louis-d'ors, almoſt the whole that remained of his tranſitory opulence.

The libels of thoſe times accuſe the Regent of having engroſſed all the money of the Kingdom, to ſerve the purpoſes of his ambition; though it is certain he died above ſeven millions of livres in debt.

Law

Law was accuſed of having ſent the French ſpecie out of the Kingdom, for his own emolument; yet it is certain that he lived ſomewhere in London, on the liberality of the Marquis de Laſſay, and died at Venice in a ſtate little removed from indigence. I ſaw his widow at Bruſſels, as much reduced and humbled, as ſhe had formerly been proud and haughty at Paris. Such inſtances of reverſe of fortune are not the leaſt uſeful objects in hiſtory.

During theſe tranſactions the plague had deſolated Provence; there was a war with Spain; Britany was on the point of rebellion; conſpiracies were formed againſt the Regent; notwithſtanding all which he carried every point he aimed at, with ſcarcely any trouble, both at home and abroad. The kingdom was in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, that every thing was to be dreaded; and yet this was the reign of pleaſure and luxury.

It was neceſſary, after the failure of Law's project, to reform the ſtate. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals; an enterprize not leſs extraordinary than the project itſelf. This was indeed the greateſt and moſt difficult atchievement in the finances, as well as of public juſtice, that was ever attempted in any nation. It was begun toward the end of the year 1721; being planned, digeſted, and conducted, by four brothers *, who had never before had any connection with public affairs, but whoſe genius and application deſerved to be intruſted with the wealth of the nation.

They eſtabliſhed a ſufficient number of offices for the Maſters of Requeſts and other Judges; they then laid down a clear and preciſe method of clearing up the chaos. Five hundred eleven thouſand and nine perſons, moſt of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All theſe numerous debts were liquidated at the ſum of near ſixteen hundred and thirty-one millions in ſpecie, with the payment of which the Government charged itſelf. Thus

* Named Paris.

ended

ended this aſtoniſhing game of chance, which an unknown foreigner had played againſt a whole nation *.

After the demolition of this vaſt edifice, which Law had ſo daringly erected, and which cruſhed its architect; there remained, however, among its ruins, an Eaſt-India Company, which became, for ſome time, a rival to thoſe of London and Amſterdam.

The madneſs of gaming in the ſtocks which had ſeized the French, laid hold alſo of the Dutch and Engliſh. Thoſe who had obſerved the methods by which ſo many private perſons in France had rapidly raiſed immenſe fortunes on the credulity and ruin of the public, carried to Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and to London, the ſame artifice and the ſame phrenzy. It is with aſtoniſhment we ſtill ſpeak of thoſe mad times and that political plague. And yet this was trifling, in compariſon of the civil and religious wars which had for ſo many years made a ſcene of blood in Europe; or of thoſe wars of nation againſt nation, or rather of king againſt king, which have deſolated ſo many countries!

There were not wanting a number of ſharpers, at Rotterdam and London, to make dupes of the public. Companies were formed, and imaginary commerce ſtruck out. Amſterdam, indeed, was ſoon undeceived. Rotterdam was for ſome time hurt; but London was totally undone, in the year 1720 †.

* The author of the Hiſtory of the Regency and of the Life of the Duke of Orleans, talk of this great affair juſt as ignorantly as they do of all others. They ſay M. de la Houſſaie, comptroller-general, was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans. Again, they miſtake an obſcure writer named La Jonchére, for La Jonchére Treaſurer at War. Such are the books fabricated in Holland! You may find in the continuation of Benignus Boſſuet's Univerſal Hiſtory, printed in 1738, by Honoré, at Amſterdam, that the Duke of Bourbon-Condé, firſt Miniſter after the Duke of Orleans, built the caſtle of Chantilly with the profits he made by the Miſſiſſippi funds. You will find there alſo, that Law had twenty millions in the Bank of England. Juſt as many lies as lines! *Voltaire.*

† Here the author makes uſe of a latitude of expreſſion not unuſual with him, but which ſometimes leads him aſide from ſtrict truth. In fact, many of the principal citizens of London ſuffered by the South-ſea project, here meant, but not a tenth part were ruined. *Tranſlator.*

From

From this phrenzy which prevailed in France and England, followed a prodigious number of bankruptcies, frauds, robberies, public and private; with every kind of depravation of manners, the natural reſult of unlimited avarice.

CHAP. III.

Continuation of the State of Europe. Cardinals Dubois and Fleury. Abdication of Victor Amadeus, &c.

WE muſt not paſs over in ſilence the miniſtry of Cardinal Dubois. He was the ſon of an apothecary of Brive-la-gaillard, in the remoteſt part of the Province of Limoſin. He ſet out in life with being tutor to the Duke of Orleans; in which capacity, by adminiſtering to the pleaſures of his pupil, he gained his confidence. A ſmall ſhare of wit, a ſtrong turn for debauchery, great flexibility, and, above all, a taſte like his maſter's for ſingularity, raiſed his immenſe fortune. Had this Cardinal Prime Miniſter been a perſon of a ſerious character, his opulence would have excited indignation; but he was only a ridiculous one. The Duke of Orleans diverted himſelf with his Prime Miniſter *, after the manner of that Pope who made his monkey-bearer a Cardinal. All was mirth and pleaſantry during the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The ſame ſpirit prevailed as in the time of the Fronde, the

* The Regent made Cardinal Dubois Prime Miniſter in 1722.—The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs tells us, that Louis XIV. having given a ſmall benefice in 1692, to this Abbé Dubois, then an obſcure perſon, ſaid of him, that "though he loved women, he formed "no connections with them; that though he tippled, he never got "drunk; and though he gamed, he never loſt his money." Extraordinary reaſons theſe for giving him a benefice!—But where did this compiler come by this ſtory?——Who but himſelf would make Louis XIV. talk in ſuch a manner?—Did that Monarch ever ſet eyes on Dubois in his life?—Beſides, the Abbé Dubois was neither a tippler, nor a gameſter. *Voltaire.*

civil war excepted; it was the true ſpirit of the Nation, which the Regent revived after the deep gloom of the laſt years of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois finiſhed his career in a courſe of debaucheries. On his death-bed, he thought of an expedient to prevent his being fatigued with religious ceremonies, on which it was well known he ſet but little value. He pretended there was a particular ceremonial with regard to Cardinals, who did not receive the ſacrament and extreme unction in the ſame manner as ordinary penitents. The Curate of Verſailles went to make enquiry, and in the mean time Dubois died. We laughed at his death, as we did at his miniſtry—ſuch was the character of the Nation.

1723. At this time the Duke of Orleans took on himſelf the title of Prime Miniſter, becauſe the King being now out of his minority, the regency was at an end; but he preſently after followed his friend the Cardinal. The character of this Prince, however, was irreproachable, except for his extravagant thirſt after novelty and pleaſure.

Of all the deſcendants of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans was the one that reſembled him moſt; he had courage, good-nature, indulgence, gaiety, frankneſs, and eaſe, with an underſtanding better cultivated. His countenance, though incomparably more pleaſing, bore a ſtrong reſemblance nevertheleſs to that of Henry IV. He took a fancy ſometimes to put on a ruff, and then he was the handſome likeneſs of Henry.

The Duke of Bourbon-Condé ſucceeded immediately to the miniſtry. The only political manœuvre he performed, was that of having the patent made out without delay, and getting the King to ſign it, the moment he was informed of the Duke of Orleans' death. But it was always the fate of the Condés to be oppreſſed by prieſts. Henry de Condé was borne down by Cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was impriſoned by Cardinal Mazarin, and the Duke of Bourbon was baniſhed by Cardinal de Fleury.

If

If there ever was a happy man upon earth, it was certainly Cardinal de Fleury. Till he arrived at the age of ſeventy-three, he was eſteemed a man moſt amiable and agreeable in ſocial life; and when at that age, at which ſo many old men retire from the world, he took upon him the cares of government, he was regarded as the moſt ſagacious. From 1726 to 1742, every thing proſpered with him; ſtill preſerving, to almoſt ninety years of age, a clear head, and an unimpaired capacity for buſineſs.

When one reflects that out of a thouſand contemporaries ſcarcely one arrives at this age, one muſt confeſs the deſtiny of Cardinal de Fleury to have been ſingular. If his elevation was extraordinary, that commencing ſo late, it ſhould continue ſo long without a cloud, his moderation, and the gentleneſs of his manners, were no leſs ſo.

The riches and magnificence of Cardinal d'Amboiſe, who aſpired to the Popedom, are well known; as well as the arrogant ſimplicity of Ximenes, who raiſed armies at his own expence, and, dreſſed in the habit of a Monk, boaſted that he led about the grandees of Spain by his hempen girdle. The royal pomp of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin, are likewiſe known. It remained for Cardinal de Fleury to be diſtinguiſhed by modeſty; by a conſtant and invariable rule of œconomy and ſimplicity. A want of dignity was the only thing wanting in his character; a defect that ſprung from his virtues, which were candour, equanimity, and the love of peace and regularity. He proved that mild and conciliating ſpirits are formed to govern the reſt.

He reſigned as ſoon as he could his biſhoprick of Frejus, after having by his œconomy cleared it of its debts, and done a great deal of good by his diſpoſition of peace-making. Theſe were the two diſtinguiſhing parts of his character. The reaſon he gave to his dioceſans was, that his ill ſtate of health prevented his paying due attention to the care of his flock. But happily he had never been ill.

The ſee of Frejus, lying in a diſagreeable country, and at a diſtance from Court, had always diſpleaſed him. He uſed to ſay, that the moment he ſaw his *wife*, he was diſguſted at his *marriage* *; and ſubſcribes a letter of pleaſantry to Cardinal Quirini, *Fleury, by the divine indignation, Biſhop of Frejus.*

He reſigned his Biſhopric about the beginning of the year 1715. Marſhal de Villeroy, after many ſolicitations, prevailed upon Louis XIV. to appoint the Biſhop of Frejus Preceptor †, in the codicil of his will. The new Preceptor expreſſes himſelf, nevertheleſs, in a letter to Cardinal Quirini, in the following terms:

"I have more than once regretted the ſolitude of "Frejus. On my arrival here, I heard the King was "at the point of death, and that he had done me the "honour to appoint me Preceptor to his grandſon. "Had his Majeſty been in a ſituation to have given me "audience, I ſhould have entreated him to ſpare me the "weight of a burthen I tremble to bear. But after "his death I could not be heard: I am ſick of it, and "find no conſolation for the loſs of my liberty."

He found comfort in forming the mind of his pupil inſenſibly to buſineſs, to ſecrecy, and probity; preſerving, amidſt all the agitations of the Court during the minority, the good-will of the Regent, and the eſteem of the public; ſeeking no occaſions of diſplaying his conſequence; making no complaints of others; laying himſelf open to no refuſals, nor entering into any of the Court intrigues; but ſecretly informing himſelf as well of the internal adminiſtration of the Kingdom, as of its foreign politics. He made it the wiſh of France, from his circumſpect conduct and amiable temper, to ſee him at the head of affairs.

This was the ſecond Preceptor that governed France. He aſſumed not the title of Prime Miniſter, but contented himſelf with being abſolute. His miniſtry was leſs oppoſed and leſs envied than that of Richelieu or of

* Scripture phraſeology. *Tranſlator.*

† To his grandſon, afterwards Louis XV.

Mazarin,



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J. Collyer sculp.

ROBERT EARL OF ORFORD.

Mazarin, in the moſt happy times of their adminiſtration. His promotion made no manner of change in his behaviour. It was aſtoniſhing to ſee the firſt Miniſter the moſt amiable and diſintereſted perſon about the Court. The welfare of the State correſponded a long time with his moderation; there was a neceſſity for thoſe pacific meaſures he naturally approved, and all the foreign miniſters were firmly perſuaded no rupture would happen in his time.

He quietly left the Kingdom to repair its loſſes, and enrich itſelf by an immenſe commerce, without making any innovations; treating the State like a ſtrong and robuſt body, which recovers by the ſtrength of its own conſtitution *.

Political affairs returned inſenſibly into their natural channel. Happily for Europe, the firſt Miniſter in England, Robert Walpole, was of a like peaceable character; and theſe two men continued to maintain that repoſe which almoſt all Europe enjoyed from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; a repoſe that was diſturbed but once by the tranſitory hoſtilities of the year 1718. This was an happy interval for all the European nations; who, cultivating arts and commerce with emulation, ſoon forgot all their paſt calamities.

During this interval, there aroſe two Powers unknown in Europe before the preſent century. The firſt was that of Ruſſia, which had juſt emerged from barbariſm under the Czar Peter the Great. This Power conſiſted only, before his time, of immenſe deſarts, and of a people without laws, without diſcipline, and without knowledge; ſuch as at all times have been the Tartars. It was ſo little known to France, that when Louis XIV. received the Muſcovite Ambaſſador, in the year 1668, that event was celebrated by the publication

* In ſome foreign books the Cardinal de Fleury is miſtaken for Abbé Fleury, author of the Hiſtory of the Church, and of thoſe excellent Sermons which ſo far ſurpaſs his Hiſtory. This Abbé Fleury was Confeſſor to Louis XV.; but he lived at Court unknown, and in obſcurity. He was poſſeſſed of genuine modeſty; the other Fleury had the modeſty of an artful ambition. *Voltaire.*

of a medal, in the ſame manner as was that of the embaſſy of the Siameſe.

This new empire began to have an influence upon all political affairs, and even to give laws to the North, after having humbled the power of Sweden.

The ſecond Power, eſtabliſhed by the force of art, but on leſs extenſive foundations, was that of Pruſſia; whoſe forces had been long preparing, but had not yet been diſplayed.

The Houſe of Auſtria was nearly in the ſame ſituation as that in which the peace of Utrecht had left it. England preſerved its power at ſea, while Holland inſenſibly loſt her's. This little State, powerful only by the leſs induſtry of other Nations, fell to decay, becauſe her neighbours carried on that trade themſelves of which ſhe had been miſtreſs. Sweden languiſhed. Denmark flouriſhed. Spain and Portugal ſubſiſted by America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many different States as it had been at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, become now the patrimony of Auſtria.

Savoy at this time exhibited a remarkable example to the world, and an intereſting leſſon to Sovereigns. Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy, the ſame who had been ſometimes the ally, and at others the enemy of France and of Auſtria, and whoſe inconſtancy had paſſed for policy, tired of buſineſs and of himſelf, in the year 1730, at the age of ſixty-four, capriciouſly abdicated his crown, though the firſt of his family that had worn it; of which abdication he as capriciouſly repented a year afterwards. The ſociety of a miſtreſs now become his wife, devotion and repoſe, could not ſatisfy a mind that had been for fifty years paſt engaged in the affairs of Europe. He diſplayed fully the weakneſs of human nature, and how difficult it is to gratify the heart either with or without a throne.

No leſs than four Sovereigns have in this Age abdicated their thrones; Chriſtina, Caſimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. reſumed the government againſt his inclination. Caſimir never thought of it. Chriſtina

was

was inclined to it for ſome time, on account of ſome diſguſt ſhe had conceived at Rome. Amadeus alone took the reſolution of remounting by force that throne which his diſquiet had occaſioned him to quit. The conſequence of this reſolution and attempt is well known. His ſon, Charles-Emanuel, would have acquired a glory far above that of crowns, in reſtoring to his father the one he received at his hands, if it had been his requeſt alone, and if the circumſtances of the times had permitted; but it was ſaid that an ambitious miſtreſs was deſirous of reigning: ſo that to prevent the fatal conſequences, the whole Council were compelled to cauſe the very man to be arreſted who had been their Sovereign. He died ſoon after in priſon.

It is falſe, that the Court of France would have ſent twenty thouſand men to protect the father againſt the ſon, as was reported in the memoirs of thoſe times. Neither the abdication of this King, his attempt to regain the ſceptre, his impriſonment, nor his death, cauſed the leaſt emotion in the neighbouring Nations. It was an extraordinary event attended with no conſequences.

A general peace prevailed even from Ruſſia to Spain, when the death of Auguſtus II. King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, replunged Europe in thoſe diſſentions and misfortunes from which it is ſeldom exempt.

CHAP. IV.

Staniſlaus Leſkinſki twice King of Poland, and twice dethroned. The War of 1734. Lorrain re-united to France.

KING Staniſlaus, father-in-law to Louis XV. nominated to the throne of Poland in 1704, was elected King in 1733, in the moſt legal and ſolemn manner. The Emperor Charles VI. however, aſſiſted by his arms, and thoſe of Ruſſia, compelled the Poles to a new election. The ſon of the late King of Poland, Elector of

Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried it againſt his opponent. Thus the Houſe of Auſtria, which had not the power to preſerve Spain and the Weſt-Indies, nor even to eſtabliſh a trading Company at Oſtend, had the credit of depriving the father-in-law of Louis XV. of the Crown of Poland. France ſaw renewed what had happened to the Prince de Conti, who was in a ſimilar manner ſolemnly elected; but having neither money nor troops, and being better recommended than ſupported, loſt the throne to which he had been invited.

King Staniſlaus went to Dantzick, in order to ſupport his election; but the majority which had choſen him, preſently yielded to the minority that oppoſed him. This country, in which the people are ſlaves, in which the nobility meanly ſell their votes, in which there is no money in the public treaſury to ſupport an army, in which the laws are without force, and in which liberty only produces diviſions; this country, I ſay, vainly boaſts a warlike nobility, who can bring an hundred thouſand cavalry into the field.

The numerous body of them that appeared in favour of Staniſlaus, vaniſhed at the ſight of ten thouſand Ruſſians. The Poliſh Nation, which had an Age before looked upon the Ruſſians with contempt, were now intimidated and guided by them. The Empire of Ruſſia was become formidable, ſince it had been modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thouſand diſciplined Ruſſian ſlaves diſperſed all the nobility of Poland; while King Staniſlaus, ſhut up in the city of Dantzick, was beſieged by an army of the ſame Nation.

The Emperor of Germany, in alliance with the Ruſſians, was confident of ſucceſs. To have made the balance equal, France ſhould have tranſported a numerous army by ſea; but England would not have ſilently looked on, had ſhe made ſuch preparations. Cardinal de Fleury, who then managed the Engliſh, ſought to avoid both the diſgrace of entirely abandoning King Staniſlaus, and the hazard of ſending a great body of troops to his relief. He ſent him, therefore, a ſquadron, with about fifteen hundred men, under the command of a Bri-

a Brigadier *. This officer could not conceive his commiſſion ſerious; and thinking, when he approached Dantzick, that he ſhould only make a fruitleſs ſacrifice of his men, ſteered away and put into Denmark. Count de Plelo, the French Ambaſſador at Copenhagen, looked with indignation upon this retreat, which he conſidered as humiliating. He was a young man, who with the ſtudy of philoſophy and the belles-lettres had united heroic ſentiments worthy of a better fortune.

He reſolved to ſuccour Dantzick with this little troop againſt an army, or periſh in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to one of the Secretaries of State, which ended thus: "I am certain I ſhall never "return: I recommend to you my wife and children."

He arrived in the road of Dantzick, diſembarked, and attacked the Ruſſian army; in which enterprize he fell, pierced with wounds, as he had foreſeen. His letter arrived, with the news of his death.

Dantzick was taken, and the French Ambaſſador at the Court of Poland, who was in the place, made priſoner of war, notwithſtanding the privilege of his character. King Staniſlaus ſaw a price ſet on his head by Count Munich, the Ruſſian General, in the city of Dantzick, in a free country, in his native land, in the midſt of a Nation who had elected him to the throne under all the forms of legal ſolemnity. He was obliged to diſguiſe himſelf in the habit of a ſailor, and eſcaped with great difficulty and danger.

It is remarkable, that this ſame Count Marſhal Munich, who ſo cruelly perſecuted him, was ſome time after baniſhed to Siberia, where he reſided twenty years in extreme indigence, to make his appearance at Court afterwards with the greater eclat. Such are the viciſſitudes of human greatneſs!

With regard to the fifteen hundred Frenchmen who had been ſo imprudently ſent againſt an entire army of Ruſſians, they made an honourable capitulation; but

* How happy for France that neither Louis XIV. nor his fighting Miniſters happened to be then alive! *Tranſlator.*

a Ruſ-

a Ruſſian ſhip being ſoon after taken by a French man of war, they were ſent to Peterſburg, and detained priſoners.

They might reaſonably expect to be treated with inhumanity among a people who had been looked upon as barbarians the beginning of the preſent century. The Empreſs Anne was then upon the throne; who treated the officers as if they had been ſo many Ambaſſadors, and ordered clothes and refreſhments to be given to the ſoldiers. This generoſity, unheard of till then, was at once the effect of that prodigious change which the Czar Peter had brought about in the Ruſſian Court, and a kind of noble reſentment which that Court thought fit to ſhew, of thoſe diſadvantageous ideas which the ancient prejudices of other Nations ſtill entertained of it.

The French Government would have entirely forfeited the reputation neceſſary to the ſupport of its own dignity, had it not reſented the outrage it had ſuffered in Poland. But this reſentment would have ſignified nothing, if it was not uſeful. The diſtance of ſituation would not permit its being directed againſt the Muſcovites; and policy directed it to fall on the Emperor. It was effectually exerted in Germany and Italy, where France joined with Spain and Sardinia. Theſe three potentates had their ſeveral intereſts; all concurring, however, to the ſame point, to weaken the Houſe of Auſtria.

The Dukes of Savoy had for a long time been gradually extending their dominions; ſometimes by affording ſuccours to the Emperors, and at others, by declaring againſt them. King Charles-Emanuel had entertained hopes of getting the Milaneſe, which was promiſed him by the Miniſters of Verſailles and Madrid.

Philip V. of Spain, or rather his Queen, Elizabeth of Parma, deſired alſo a more conſiderable ſettlement for her children, than that of Parma and Placentia. The King of France had no other view for himſelf but his own glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the ſucceſs of his allies.

It was not at that time foreſeen that Lorrain would be the prize of this war. Mankind in general are led by events, and rarely direct them. Never was there a treaty more expeditiouſly concluded than that which united theſe three potentates.

England and Holland, long accuſtomed to declare for Auſtria againſt France, abandoned her on this occaſion. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation which the French Court had acquired.

An opinion of its pacific and diſintereſted views quieted its natural enemies, even while it was making war; and nothing did greater honour to the Miniſtry, than its being able to perſuade thoſe Powers, that France might carry on a war againſt the Emperor without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the potentates looked then with unconcern on her rapid ſucceſs. A French army was maſter of the field upon the Rhine; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, were maſters of Italy. Marſhal Villars, who had been declared Generaliſſimo of the French, Spaniſh, and Piedmonteſe troops, ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-two, ſoon after he had taken Milan. Marſhal Coigni, his ſucceſſor, gained two battles; while the Duke of Montemar, the Spaniſh General, obtained a victory in the Kingdom of Naples, at Bitonto, from which he took the ſurname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged Hereditary Prince of Tuſcany, was preſently made King of Naples and Sicily. Thus the Emperor Charles VI. loſt almoſt all Italy, for having given a King to Poland; and a ſon of the King of Spain in two campaigns acquired the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which had ſo often been taken and retaken, and which had been the conſtant object of attention to the Houſe of Auſtria for more than two centuries.

This war in Italy is the only one that terminated with any real ſucceſs to the French ſince the time of Charlemagne. The reaſon of it was, that they had on their ſide the guardian of the Alps, become the moſt powerful Prince of thoſe countries; that they were ſeconded

conded by the beſt troops of Spain, and their armies were always plentifully ſupplied.

The Emperor thought himſelf then happy to receive thoſe conditions of peace which victorious France offered him. Cardinal Fleury, the French Miniſter, who had the addreſs of preventing England and Holland from taking part in this war, had alſo that of concluding it happily, without their intervention.

By this peace, Don Carlos was acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily. Europe was already accuſtomed to ſee Kingdoms given and exchanged. To the Emperor's ſon-in-law, Francis, Duke of Lorrain, was aſſigned the inheritance of the Houſe of Medicis, which had been before granted to Don Carlos; and the laſt Grand Duke of Tuſcany being near his end, aſked, "if they would "not give him a third heir; and what other new child "the Empire and France intended to beget him?"

Not that the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany conſidered itſelf as a fief of the Empire, but the Emperor looked upon it as ſuch, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the Holy See, and for which the laſt Duke of Parma had done homage to the Pope: ſo vary rights with the times! By this peace, the Duchy of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to Don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. and a Princeſs of Parma, were granted in full property to the Emperor Charles VI.

The King of Sardinia, Duke of Savoy, who had reckoned on the Milaneſe, to which his family, aggrandized by degrees, had ſome old pretenſions, obtained only thoſe ſmall parts of it the Novareſe, the Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of Langes. His claim to the Milaneſe was founded on his deſcent from a daughter of Philip II. King of Spain. France had alſo her ancient pretenſions, derived from Louis XII. the natural heir to this Duchy. Philip V. had his claims, founded on the infeoffments renewed to four Kings of Spain, his predeceſſors. All theſe arguments, however, gave way to convenience and the public good. The Emperor kept poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. This is not a fief, of which he ought always to give the inveſtiture. It was originally the Kingdom of Lombardy,

Lombardy, annexed to the Empire, became afterwards a fief under the Viſcontis and the Sforzas, and is at preſent a ſtate belonging to the Emperor; a ſtate diſmembered indeed, but which, with Tuſcany and Mantua, renders the Imperial Family very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty, King Staniſlaus renounced the Kingdom which he had twice gained, and which his friends had not been able to guarantee to him. He retained indeed the title of royalty; but wanted another kind of indemnification; and that for the ſake of France, more than for himſelf. Cardinal de Fleury contented himſelf at firſt with the Duchy of Bar, which the Duke of Lorrain was to yield to Staniſlaus, with the reverſion to the Crown of France, although Lorrain was not to be ceded till the Duke was put in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. This was ſubjecting the ceſſion of Lorrain to many accidents, and profiting very little by the moſt ſignal ſucceſs, and moſt favourable conjunctures. Chauvelin, Keeper of the Seals, encouraged Cardinal de Fleury to make a better uſe of his advantages: he accordingly demanded Lorrain on the ſame conditions as the Duchy of Bar, and obtained it. It coſt him only ſome ready money, and a penſion of three millions five hundred thouſand livres to Duke Francis, till ſuch time as Tuſcany ſhould devolve to him.

Thus was Lorrain irrevocably re-united to the Crown; a re-union which had been often attempted in vain. By this event, a Poliſh King was tranſplanted into Lorrain; and that Province was rendered happy in becoming, for the laſt time, the reſidence of a ſovereign Prince. The reigning Houſe of the Princes of Lorrain was now inveſted with the ſupreme power in Tuſcany; and the ſecond ſon of the King of Spain was transferred to Naples. The motto on the medal of Trajan, *Regna aſſignata*, "Kingdoms given away," was indeed very applicable to this period.

A profound peace prevailed among the Chriſtian potentates, if we except the growing diſputes between Spain and England concerning the trade of America.

The

The Court of France continued to be regarded as the arbitrator of Europe.

The Emperor made war againſt the Turks, without conſulting the Empire. This war was unfortunate; but he was ſaved from the precipice by the mediation of Louis XV. In 1739, M. de Villeneuve, the French Ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte, went into Hungary, to conclude with the Grand Vizir that peace of which the Emperor ſtood ſo much in need.

About the ſame time he pacified the Genoeſe, who were on the point of a civil war: he likewiſe appeaſed for a time the Corſicans, who had thrown off the Genoeſe yoke. The ſame Miniſtry alſo put a ſtop to a civil war which had begun within the walls of Geneva.

But, above all, the King interpoſed his good offices between Spain and England, who had commenced a maritime war, which was likely to be more ruinous to both Nations, than the rights for which they diſputed could be advantageous to either. The ſame Court had alſo employed its mediation in 1735, between Spain and Portugal: in fine, none of the neighbouring Nations had reaſon to complain of France, whom they conſidered as their mediatrix and common mother. This glory and happineſs were not of long duration.

CHAP. V.

The Death of the Emperor Charles VI. The Succeſſion of the Houſe of Auſtria diſputed by Four Powers. The Queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her Father's Dominions. Sileſia taken by the King of Pruſſia.

THE Emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October, 1740, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. If the death of Auguſtus II. King of Poland had occaſioned ſuch great commotions, that of Charles VI. the laſt Prince of the Houſe of Auſtria, could not fail of producing many other revolutions. It ſeemed neceſſary

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to divide the hereditary dominions of that Houſe, which conſiſted of Hungary and Bohemia, both electoral Kingdoms, but rendered hereditary by the Auſtrian Princes. They conſiſted of Auſtrian Suabia, called Anterior Auſtria; Higher and Lower Auſtria, conquered in the 13th century; Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four Foreſt Towns, Briſgau, Frioul, Tirol, the Milaneſe, Mantua, and the Duchy of Parma. In regard to Naples and Sicily, thoſe two Kingdoms were already in the hands of Don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. King of Spain.

Maria Thereſa, the eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. founded her pretenſions to her father's dominions on the right of nature, on a Pragmatic Sanction which had confirmed that right, and on the guarantee of almoſt all the Powers of Europe. Charles-Albert, Elector of Bavaria, claimed the ſucceſſion on the ſtrength of a will made by Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V.

Auguſtus III. King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, alledged more recent pretenſions, even thoſe of his wife, as eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Joſeph, the elder brother of Charles VI.

The King of Spain extended his claim to all the poſſeſſions of the Auſtrian family, on his being deſcended from the conſort of Philip II. daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II.

Louis XV. might alſo have laid claim to the ſucceſſion with as great a right as any of them, being deſcended in a direct line from the oldeſt male branch of the Houſe of Auſtria by the wife of Louis XIII. and alſo by the wife of Louis XIV.; but it was more prudent in him to remain arbitrator and protector, than to appear as a competitor; becauſe he could, in concert with one half of Europe, decide both the ſucceſſion and the empire: but had he urged his claims, all Europe would have been in arms againſt him. This cauſe, in which ſo many crowned heads were concerned, was pleaded in all the Courts of Chriſtendom by manifeſtoes and memorials; and not only Princes but even private perſons intereſted themſelves

ſelves in it. Nothing was expected but a general war. The politicians, however, were greatly ſurprized to find the ſtorm burſt where it was leaſt expected.

A new kingdom had been erected at the beginning of this century. The Emperor Leopold, according to the prerogative ever claimed by the German Emperors of creating Kings, had in the year 1701 erected Ducal Pruſſia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederic-William, Elector of Brandenburg. Pruſſia was, at that time, only an extenſive deſert; but Frederic-William II. her ſecond King, who had a different policy from that of his cotemporaries, expended about twenty-five millions of our money in clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling them: he invited families from Suabia and Franconia; and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltſbourg, furniſhing them with neceſſaries of all ſorts to eſtabliſh and ſet themſelves to work.

While he was thus active in founding a new kingdom, by a ſingular œconomy he created another ſpecies of power. Every month he laid by in reſerve 40,000 German crowns, ſometimes more ſometimes leſs, which in a reign of twenty-eight years amounted to an immenſe treaſure. What he did not lock up in his coffers, was employed in raiſing an army of ſeventy thouſand choice men, whom he diſciplined himſelf, after a new manner, but never employed. But his ſon Frederic III. took the advantage of thoſe preparations of his father. He foreſaw the general confuſion, and did not fail to reap the benefit of it. He laid claim to four duchies in Sileſia. His anceſtors had repeatedly renounced their pretenſions, becauſe they were unable to ſupport them; he found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, and reclaimed them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, had already exerted themſelves to make an Emperor. The Elector of Bavaria preſſed the French Miniſtry to procure him at leaſt ſome part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. In his memorials he laid claim to the whole, but dared not demand ſo much by his Miniſters. In the mean time,

Maria

Maria-Thereſa, who had married Francis of Lorrain, Grand-Duke of Tuſcany, took poſſeſſion of all the dominions which her father had bequeathed her. She received the homage of the States of Auſtria at Vienna, on the ſeventh of November 1740. The Provinces of Italy and Bohemia ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies; but above all, ſhe ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians, by taking the ancient oath which King Andrew II. made in the year 1222.

"If I, or any of my ſucceſſors, ſhall, at any time, "infringe upon your privileges; by virtue of this "promiſe, you, and your deſcendants, ſhall be allowed "to defend yourſelves, and ſhall not be treated as "rebels."

As the anceſtors of the Archduchеſs-Queen had always been backward in executing ſuch engagements, her taking the prudent ſtep here mentioned, greatly endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had always been inclined to throw off the Auſtrian yoke, after two hundred years ſpent in ſedition, broils and civil wars, ſubmitted at once to the government of Maria-Thereſa, whom they almoſt adored. The Queen was not crowned at Preſburg until the 24th of June 1741, but was not the leſs a Sovereign; ſhe had already got poſſeſſion of all hearts by a popular affability which her predeceſſors had ſeldom exerciſed: ſhe laid aſide that formality and haughtineſs which render a throne diſguſting, without making it more reſpectable. The Archduchеſs her aunt, Governeſs of the Low Countries, had never condeſcended to eat with any body: Maria-Thereſa admitted to her table all the ladies and officers of diſtinction; ſhe converſed freely with the Deputies of the States; ſhe never refuſed to grant an audience, and nobody ever left her diſcontented.

Her firſt care was to inſure to her huſband, the Grand-Duke of Tuſcany, a ſhare in all her crowns, under the title of Co-regent, without in the leaſt diminiſhing her own ſovereignty, and without infringing the Pragmatic Sanction. She flattered herſelf from the

beginning, that the dignities ſhe conferred on that Prince, would prepare his way to the Imperial crown; but this Princeſs had no money, and her troops, very much diminiſhed, were diſperſed through her extenſive dominions.

The King of Pruſſia made propoſals to her to yield up the Lower Sileſia, and in return for that territory offered her his influence, his aſſiſtance, his arms, and five millions of our livres, to guarantee the reſt of her poſſeſſions, and place her huſband on the throne of the Empire. It was foreſeen by the moſt able politicians, that ſhould the Queen of Hungary refuſe theſe offers, all Germany would be thrown into confuſion; but the blood of ſo many Emperors which flowed in her veins, would not allow her even to think of diſmembering her hereditary eſtates: ſhe was weak, but intrepid.

The King of Pruſſia looking upon her power to be merely nominal, and that the ſtate of Europe at that time would ſoon give him allies, marched with his army into Sileſia, in the middle of December 1740. It was propoſed to adorn his ſtandard with this device, *Pro Deo et Patriâ*; but he eraſed *Pro Deo*, ſaying, that it would be very improper to confound the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that the object was a province, and not religion. He then ordered the Roman eagle, diſplayed in relievo, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards. This novelty impoſed the neceſſity on him of being invincible. When he harangued his army, he adviſed them in every thing to imitate the antient Romans.

Having entered Sileſia, he in a ſhort time ſubdued almoſt the whole of that province, of which he had ſo lately been refuſed a part; but ſtill nothing was yet deciſive. General Neuperg came ſoon after to the ſuccour of this invaded province with a body of Auſtrians to the amount of about twenty-four thouſand men, and forced the King of Pruſſia to engage with him at Molwitz, near the river Neiſs.

On this occaſion the ſuperiority of the Pruſſian infantry became conſpicuous. The King's cavalry, leſs

ſtrong by half than that of Auſtria, was entirely routed. The firſt line of his infantry was attacked in flank; the battle ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt; all the royal baggage was pillaged; and the King himſelf, in danger of being made priſoner, was hurried by his attendants to ſome diſtance from the field of battle. The ſecond line of infantry recovered every thing by that immoveable diſcipline to which the Pruſſian ſoldiers are accuſtomed, by the continual firing they preſerved, diſcharging at leaſt five times in a minute, and loading their guns with iron ramrods in an inſtant. Thus a victory was gained; and this event became the ſignal of a general war.

CHAP. VI.

The King of France unites with the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland to raiſe Charles-Albert, Elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared Lieutenant-General to the King of France. His Election, Succeſſes, and rapid Defeats.

ALL the Powers of Europe believed that when the King of Pruſſia took Sileſia, he was in alliance with France. They were miſtaken; which frequently happens, when people build their opinions upon mere probabilities. The King of Pruſſia ran a great riſk, as he himſelf confeſſed; but he foreſaw that the French would not ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of ſeconding him. The French intereſt ſeemed to oppoſe Auſtria, in favour of their old ally the Elector of Bavaria, whoſe father had formerly loſt every thing in their ſervice, in conſequence of the battle of Hochſtedt. This ſame Elector, Charles-Albert, had been impriſoned in his infancy by the Auſtrians, who had ſtripped him of every thing, except his title of Bavaria. France found it for her advantage to revenge his cauſe. It appeared eaſy to procure him at once both the Empire

and part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; by which the new Houſe of Auſtria-Lorrain would be deprived of that ſuperiority which the ancient one always aſſumed over the other potentates of Europe; the old rivalry between the Houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria would be extinguiſhed; and more might be done than Henry IV. and Cardinal Richelieu could ever have hoped.

When Frederick III. marched into Sileſia, he foreſaw this revolution, the foundation of which was not then laid. It is ſo true that he had not concerted any meaſure with Cardinal Fleury, that the Marquis de Beauveau, who was ſent by the King of France to Berlin to compliment the new Monarch, did not know, when he firſt ſaw the Pruſſian troops in motion, whether they were deſtined againſt France or Auſtria. His Pruſſian Majeſty ſaid to him at parting, "I imagine "I am going to play your game.—If I throw aces, you "muſt go halves *."

This was only the beginning of a negociation as yet at a great diſtance. The French Miniſtry heſitated a long time; and Cardinal Fleury, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was unwilling to expoſe his reputation, his old age, and the French nation, to the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction, ſigned and authentically guarantied, reſtrained him.

The Count, ſince Marſhal, Duke de Belleiſle and his brother, grandſons of the famous Fouquet, without having either of them any influence in public affairs, nor as yet any acceſs to the King, nor any intereſt with Cardinal Fleury, brought this enterprize to bear.

The Marſhal de Belleiſle had a great reputation without having ſignalized himſelf. Although he had neither been Miniſter nor General, yet he paſſed for a man very capable of managing a ſtate, or commanding an army; but a bad ſtate of health frequently prevented him from reaping the fruits of his great talents. Always in action, and full of ſchemes, his body be-

* The author was at this period along with the King of Pruſſia; and can take upon him to ſay, the Cardinal was ignorant what a Prince he had to deal with. *Voltaire.*

came

came a victim to the efforts of his mind. In him, the politeneſs of an amiable courtier and the apparent frankneſs of the ſoldier were equally admired: he could perſuade without eloquence, becauſe he always ſeemed to be perſuaded himſelf.

His brother, the Chevalier de Belleiſle, had the ſame ambition, the ſame views, but deeper laid, becauſe a more robuſt conſtitution permitted him to be indefatigable in buſineſs. His gloomy aſpect was not ſo engaging; but he overpowered, when his brother could only inſinuate. His eloquence reſembled his courage: under an air of coldneſs and profound contemplation ſomething impetuous was diſcernible. He was capable of deſigning, arranging, and executing, every thing he took in hand.

Theſe two men, more ſtrictly united by the conformity of their minds even than by the natural ties of conſanguinity, undertook to change the face of affairs in Europe, aided in this great deſign by a lady of ſuperior talents. The Cardinal oppoſed them: he even gave his advice to the King in writing; and this advice was againſt the enterprize. It was now expected that he would have retired. His whole adminiſtration had been glorious; but he had not ſufficient reſolution to quit his miniſtry, and live for himſelf, even on the verge of the grave. Marſhal de Belleiſle and his brother made the entire arrangements, and the old Cardinal preſided over an enterprize which he diſapproved.

Every thing ſeemed favourable, at firſt.—Marſhal de Belleiſle was diſpatched to Francfort, to the Pruſſian camp, and to Dreſden, with a view of concerting thoſe vaſt projects, which, by the concurrence of ſo many princes, appeared to promiſe infallible ſucceſs. He agreed entirely with the meaſures of the King of Pruſſia, and thoſe of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. He negociated in every part of Germany. He was the ſoul of that party which was about to beſtow the Empire and hereditary crowns upon a Prince who could do nothing for himſelf. France furniſhed the Elector of Bavaria at once with money, allies, ſuf-

frages, and troops. When the King of France ſent him the army which he had promiſed, he iſſued let-
July 31, 1741. ters-patent * creating him, whom he had deſtined to be Emperor of Germany, Lieutenant-general of his forces.

The Elector of Bavaria being ſtrengthened by ſo many ſupplies, entered Auſtria without oppoſition, at a time when Maria-Thereſa was at a loſs to defend herſelf againſt the Pruſſians. He immediately became Maſter
Aug. 15. of the Imperial City of Paſſau, which belonged to his own biſhop, and ſeparated Upper Auſtria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria. Some detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was ſpread, and they prepared with expedition to ſuſtain a ſiege. One of the ſuburbs was almoſt totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; and the Danube was covered with numbers of boats, which conveyed the moſt valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater ſafety. The Elector of Bavaria proceeded ſo far as to ſend a ſummons of ſurrender to Count Khevenhuller, who was then Governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were, at this period, far from holding that balance which they had ſo long pretended to be in their hands. The States General remained quiet when they ſaw an army under Marſhal de Maillebois in Weſtphalia; and the ſame army impoſed ſilence on the King of England, at that time in Hanover, who was in pain for his Electoral dominions. He had raiſed twenty-five thouſand men to aſſiſt Maria-Thereſa; but was under the neceſſity of abandoning her at the head of his army, and of ſigning a treaty of neutrality.

There was then no power, either in the Empire or elſewhere, that ſupported the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been guarantied by ſo many States. Vienna, badly fortified on that ſide which was threatened, could make but a feeble reſiſtance; and thoſe who were beſt ac-

* Thoſe letters were not ſigned till the 20th of Auguſt, 1741.

quainted

quainted with Germany and public affairs, already looked upon Vienna as taken;—the road blocked up againſt the Hungarians on that ſide;—open on every other to the victorious armies;—all pretenſions regulated, and peace reſtored to the Empire and to Europe.

In proportion as the ruin of Maria-Thereſa ſeemed inevitable, that Princeſs aſſumed freſh courage. She had quitted Vienna, and thrown herſelf into the arms of thoſe Hungarians who had been treated with ſo much ſeverity by her father and her anceſtors. Having called an Aſſembly of the four Orders of the State at Preſburg, ſhe appeared there, holding in her arms her eldeſt ſon, who had hardly left his cradle; and addreſſing them in Latin, in which language ſhe expreſſed herſelf well, ſhe ſpoke to the following purport:——"Abandoned "by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, attacked "by my neareſt relations, I have no other reſource but "in your fidelity, in your valour, and in my own reſo- "lution. I deliver into your hands the daughter and "ſon of your Kings, who place their ſafety in you."

Senſibly affected and animated by theſe words, the Hungarians drew their ſabres, and cried with one voice, *Moriamur pro noſtro rege Maria Thereſa*, "We will die "for our King Maria-Thereſa." They always give the title of King to their Queen. In fact, no Princeſs ever better deſerved that appellation. They ſhed tears while they were vowing to defend her. She alone appeared unmoved; but after ſhe had retired with her maids of honour, ſhe gave a full vent to thoſe tears which the firmneſs of her mind had made her reſtrain. At that time ſhe was pregnant, and not long before had written to her mother-in-law, the Ducheſs of Lorrain, "I do "not know whether I ſhall have a ſingle town left me, "where I may lie-in."

In this ſituation ſhe excited the zeal of her Hungarians; re-animated England and Holland in her favour, which ſupplied her with money; exerted all her influence in the Empire; and carried on a negociation with the King of Sardinia, whoſe provinces furniſhed her with ſoldiers.

The whole Engliſh Nation became animated in her favour. They are a people who do not wait for the opinion of their maſter to form their own. Several private perſons propoſed ſending a free-gift to that Princeſs. Among theſe, the Ducheſs of Marlborough, widow of the Duke of that name who fought for Charles VI. aſſembled together the principal ladies in London, who agreed to furniſh an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and the Ducheſs depoſited forty thouſand pounds. The Queen of Hungary had the magnanimity to refuſe the money which was thus generouſly offered her; ſhe would accept of none but what ſhe expected from the Nation aſſembled in Parliament *.

It was generally imagined that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would immediately lay ſiege to Vienna. In war, it is a maxim to do that which the enemy moſt dreads. This was one of thoſe deciſive ſtrokes, one of thoſe opportunities which Fortune preſents but once, and never recurs a ſecond time. The Elector of Bavaria had conceived hopes of taking Vienna; but was not prepared for a ſiege, having neither heavy cannon nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views ſo far as to give him that capital; he was ſatisfied with ſmaller acquiſitions: he choſe to have the ſpoils divided, before they were acquired; for he did not mean that the Emperor he was making ſhould enjoy all the ſucceſſion.

In the month of November, 1741, the French army, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, being reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague. Count Maurice de Saxe, natural brother of the King of Poland, attacked the place. This General, who inherited his father's peculiar ſtrength of body, together with the mildneſs of his temper and equal courage, poſſeſſed much ſuperior talents for war. His reputation had got him elected, by the general voice, Duke of Cour-

* What a noble inſtance of liberality on one part, and of magnanimity on the other, to the immortal honour of the ſex! This is a fine paſſage in hiſtory. *Tranſlator.*

land;

land *; but Ruſſia, which gave laws to the North, deprived him of that dignity which the ſuffrage of a whole people had granted to his merit. He comforted himſelf in the ſervice of France, and in the agreeable ſociety of that Nation, which, as yet, knew him not ſufficiently.

It was neceſſary to take Prague in a few days, or to abandon the enterprize. He was ſhort of proviſions, and the ſeaſon was advanced; and yet though that city was but indifferently fortified, it could eaſily withſtand the firſt attacks. General Ogilvie, an Iriſhman by birth, who commanded the place, had three thouſand men in garriſon; and the Grand Duke, at the head of thirty thouſand men, was in full march to relieve him. On the 25th of November, he advanced within five leagues of the city; but that very night the French and Saxons gave the aſſault.

They made two attacks with a great thunder of artillery, which quickly brought all the garriſon to that ſide. In the mean time Count Saxe with ſilence, cauſed a ſingle ladder to be fixed on the ramparts of the new town, at a conſiderable diſtance from the part attacked. M. Chevert, then Lieutenant-Colonel to the regiment of Beauſſe, mounted the firſt: the eldeſt ſon of Marſhal Brogho followed him. On the ramparts they found but one centinel, at a little diſtance. They were ſoon followed by multitudes, and made themſelves maſters of the city, and the whole garriſon laid down their arms.

General Ogilvie and his three thouſand men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Count Saxe ſaved the city from being plundered; and, what is remarkable, during the firſt three days, the conquerors and conquered mixed promiſcuouſly together; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, could not be diſtinguiſhed one from another; and all this confuſion ended without bloodſhed.

The Elector of Bavaria, then juſt arrived, ſent an account of this ſucceſs to the King, in the ſtile of a General who writes to him whoſe army he commands. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia on the

* On June 28, 1726.

the very day it was taken, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the Grand-Duke, who could not ſave that capital, and who could not ſubſiſt in its environs, retired to the ſouth-eaſt parts of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother Prince Charles of Lorrain.

About the ſame time the King of Pruſſia reduced Moravia, a province ſituated between Bohemia and Sileſia. In this manner Maria-Thereſa ſeemed to be overpowered in every quarter. Her competitor had already been crowned Archduke of Auſtria at Lintz; he had aſſumed the crown of Bohemia at Prague; and from thence went to Frankfort to receive that of the Empire, under the name of Charles VII.

Marſhal Belleiſle, who followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as an Elector of the firſt rank, than as an Ambaſſador from France. He had procured all the votes, directed all the negociations, and received all the honours due to the repreſentative of a King who conferred an imperial crown.

The Elector of Mentz, who preſided at the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace; and the Ambaſſador in his hotel gave place to none but Electors, taking the precedence of all other Princes. His credentials were written in the French language, though the German Chancery had hitherto required that ſuch papers ſhould be preſented in Latin; that being the proper language for a government which aſſumes the name of the Roman Empire.

On the 4th of January, 1741, Charles-Albert was ſolemnly elected Emperor without any diſturbance. He now ſeemed to have arrived at the ſummit of happineſs and glory; but Fortune changed, and he became one of the moſt unfortunate Princes in the world merely from his elevation.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The rapid Diſaſters which followed the Succeſſes of the Emperor Charles-Albert, of Bavaria.

THE Allies began very ſoon to be ſenſible of the fault they had committed, in neglecting to provide a ſufficient body of cavalry. Marſhal Belleiſle, who was ſick at Frankfort, wanted at once to conduct negociations and command an army at a diſtance. A miſunderſtanding prevailed among the confederates. The Saxons complained much of the Pruſſians, and thoſe of the French, who in their turn accuſed them. Maria-Thereſa ſupported herſelf by her reſolution; by remittances from England, Holland, and Venice, and loans from Flanders; but above all, by the deſperate ardour of her troops, which were now aſſembled from all quarters. On the contrary, the French army, commanded by chiefs of little reputation, was diminiſhing by fatigues, ſickneſs, and deſertion, while their recruits came in but ſlowly.

It was not like the army of Guſtavus Adolphus, who having begun his campaigns in Germany with leſs than ten thouſand men, ſoon found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand, augmenting his troops in the very country in proportion to his progreſs. Every day weakened the French conquerors, and added ſtrength to the Auſtrians. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand-Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia with thirty-five thouſand men: all the inhabitants were on his ſide; and he begun to make a defenſive war with ſucceſs, by keeping the enemy continually under alarms, by cutting off their convoys, and by harraſſing them on all ſides with crouds of Huſſars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The *Pandours* are Sclavonians who inhabit the confines of the Drave and the Save. They wear a long cloak, carry ſeveral

veral piſtols in their girdle, with a ſabre and a poniard. The *Talpaches* are a ſort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a gun, two piſtols, and a ſword. The *Croats*, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia; and the *Huſſars* are Hungarian horſemen, mounted on ſmall horſes, ſwift and indefatigable: they harraſs the infantry when diſtributed in too many poſts, and unprovided with cavalry. The French and Bavarians were every where in this ſituation. The Emperor Charles VII. wanted to keep poſſeſſion of an extenſive territory with a handful of people, becauſe he thought the Queen of Hungary not in a condition to retake it; but all was recovered, and the war afterwards transferred from the Danube to the Rhine.

When Cardinal Fleury ſaw ſo many hopes baffled, and ſo many diſaſters follow ſuch promiſing beginnings, he wrote a letter to General Konigſeg, which he ordered Marſhal Belleiſle himſelf to deliver. In this letter * he exculpated himſelf from having any ſhare in undertaking the war, and affirmed that he had been led beyond his own meaſures. "It is well known, ſaid he, that I have "ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſolutions that have been "taken; and that I have been in a manner forced to "comply with them. Your Excellency is too well "acquainted with all that paſſes, not to gueſs the per-"ſon who employed every method to determine the "King to enter into a league ſo contrary to my inclina-"tion and principles."

Inſtead of an anſwer, the Queen of Hungary cauſed the Cardinal's letter to be printed. It was eaſy to be foreſeen what bad effects this letter would produce. In the firſt place, it evidently laid the whole blame of the war upon the General employed to negociate with Count Konigſeg, and, inſtead of forwarding the negociation, only tended to render his perſon odious. In the ſecond place, it laid open the weakneſs of the Miniſtry: and it required but little knowledge of mankind to foreſee that they would take the advantage of that weakneſs; that the allies of France would thereby be diſheartened, while its enemies gained freſh courage.

The

* July 11, 1742.

The Cardinal, ſeeing his letter printed, wrote a ſecond to the Auſtrian General, complaining of his having publiſhed the firſt; and telling him, "that for the future "he would not write him his real ſentiments." This ſecond letter did ſtill more miſchief than the firſt. He next diſowned both the letters, in ſome of the public papers; but this diſavowal, which did not impoſe upon any body, only completed his indiſcretion, which good-natured people excuſed in a man tired out with bad ſucceſs, and in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age. Finally, the Bavarian Emperor ſent propoſals to London for a peace, backed with offers for ſecularizing ſome Biſhopricks in favour of Hanover. The Engliſh Miniſtry imagined they could accompliſh this without the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, and only inſulted his propoſals, by making them public; which reduced the Emperor to the neceſſity of diſowning his offers of peace, as Cardinal Fleury had diſavowed the war.

The conteſt then grew warmer than ever. France on one ſide, and England on the other; principals in fact, though under the name of auxiliaries; endeavoured to keep the balance by force of arms. The Houſe of Bourbon was obliged for the ſecond time to ſupport a war againſt almoſt all Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, being too much advanced in years to ſuſtain ſo heavy a burthen, laviſhed with regret the treaſures of France in this war, undertaken againſt his inclination, and ſaw nothing but misfortunes occaſioned by miſconduct. He never thought that a marine power was neceſſary, until the remains of the French fleet were abſolutely deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the maritime provinces were entirely expoſed. The Emperor whom France had made, was chaſed three times from his own dominions.

In Bohemia and Bavaria, the French troops were deſtroyed without fighting one general battle; and their difficulties became ſo great, that a retreat, which appeared impracticable, was looked upon as a ſingular piece of good fortune. Marſhal Belleiſle ſaved the remnant of the French army beſieged in Prague, by conducting

thirteen

thirteen thouſand men from thence to Egra, through a bye-road of thirty-eight leagues, covered with ice, and in ſight of the enemy *. In fine, the war was removed from the heart of Auſtria to the banks of the Rhine.

In the midſt of theſe misfortunes, Cardinal Fleury died in the village of Iſſi, leaving the affairs of the war, the marine, the finances, and politics, in a critical ſituation; which leſſened the glory of his miniſtry, but not the tranquility of his mind.

Louis XV. then took the reſolution to be his own Miniſter, and to put himſelf at the head of an army. He found himſelf in the ſame ſituation in which his great-grandfather had once been, in a war called, like this, "The War of the Succeſſion."

He had France and Spain to ſupport againſt the ſame enemies; that is, againſt Auſtria, England, Holland, and Savoy. In order to form a juſt idea of the embarraſſments which the King experienced, of the dangers to which he was expoſed, and of the reſources he poſſeſſed, we muſt make appear in what manner England gave motion to all theſe diſturbances of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conduct of England. The Tranſactions of the Prince of Conti in Italy.

AFTER the happy æra of the peace of Utrecht, the Engliſh, who occupied Minorca and Gibraltar in Spain, obtained ſeveral privileges from the Court of Madrid, which the French, its defenders, did not enjoy. The Engliſh merchants purchaſed negroes on the Coaſt of Africa, and diſpoſed of them to the Spaniſh Colonies in America. This traffic of men ſold by men, notwithſtanding thirty-three piaſtres † paid to the Spaniſh government for every ſlave, was a conſiderable object of

* December 1742. † Piaſtre, value about a crown.

gain

gain to the Engliſh Company; becauſe, in furniſhing four thouſand eight hundred negroes, they obtained leave to ſell the eight hundred without paying any duty. But the greateſt advantage granted to the Engliſh, to the excluſion of other Nations, was the permiſſion which the Company enjoyed from 1716 to ſend a ſhip to Porto-Bello.

This veſſel, which at firſt was reſtrained to five hundred tons, was by agreement, in 1717, allowed to carry eight hundred and fifty; but, in fact, by fraud one thouſand, which amounted to about two millions weight in goods. Theſe thouſand tons were yet the leaſt conſiderable object of the commerce of this Engliſh Company. A tender, which conſtantly followed the veſſel under pretext of carrying proviſions, went and returned continually. She was loaded in the Engliſh Colonies with goods, which ſhe brought to this veſſel; which, as it was never empty by this means, did as much buſineſs as a whole fleet. Often even other ſhips came by permiſſion to fill this veſſel; and their ſloops went beſides to the coaſts of America to carry goods which the people had occaſion for; which not only wronged the Spaniſh government, but was an injury to every body concerned in the trade from Spain to the Gulph of Mexico. The Spaniſh Governors treated the Engliſh merchants with rigour, which ſeldom keeps within proper bounds.

In the year 1739 one Jenkins, maſter of a veſſel, preſented himſelf before the Houſe of Commons. He was a plain, ſimple man, who had never been concerned in any illicit trade, but had been met by a Spaniſh guarda-coſta in ſome latitude of America which was prohibited to the Engliſh. The Spaniſh Captain had ſeized the ſhip, put the crew in irons, ſlit the noſe and cut off the ears of the maſter. In this condition Captain Jenkins appeared before the Parliament. He informed them of his misfortune with the naïveté of his profeſſion and his character.—"Gentlemen, ſaid he, when they had thus "diſfigured me, I was threatened with death. I ex- "pected it, and recommended my ſoul to God, and my "revenge to my Country." Theſe words, expreſſed ſo

naturally, excited a clamour of compaſſion and indignation in the Houſe. The people of London exclaimed without doors, "A free ſea, or a war."

Perhaps there never was more real rhetoric made uſe of than in the Engliſh Parliament upon this ſubject; and I doubt whether the premeditated orations formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome on ſimilar occaſions, could ſurpaſs the unpremeditated ſpeeches of Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, the Miniſter Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Cheſterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, ſince Earl of Bath. Theſe diſcourſes, which are the natural effects of the Engliſh conſtitution and national ſpirit, ſometimes ſtrike ſtrangers with amazement; as the produce of a country, though held cheap at home, is conſidered as a rarity abroad.

But where the ſpirit of party reigns, we muſt read all thoſe ſpeeches with caution, the true ſtate of the Nation being generally diſguiſed. The miniſterial party there repreſents the Kingdom in a flouriſhing ſituation, while the oppoſite faction aſſures us that the Nation is ruined. Both parties commonly exaggerate. "Where are the "times (cried one of their Members of Parliament on "this occaſion), where are the times when a Miniſter "of war could ſay, that nobody ſhould dare to fire a "cannon in Europe without permiſſion from the "Engliſh?"

At laſt, the voice of the Nation determined the King and Parliament. A war was declared in form againſt Spain about the end of the year 1739.

The war was at firſt carried on by ſea; and the privateers of both Nations, authoriſed by letters of marque, attacked the merchantmen in Europe and America, reciprocally deſtroying the trade for which they were contending; but it was not long before greater hoſtilities enſued.

In the year 1740, Admiral Vernon entered the Gulph of Mexico, and there attacked and took the city of Porto-Bello, the mart of the treaſures of the New World, deſtroyed the fortifications, and left the trade open to the Engliſh, who might now carry on by force



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of arms that which they had before done clandeſtinely, and which had been the cauſe of the rupture. The Engliſh regarded this expedition as one of the greateſt ſervices rendered to the Nation. The Admiral received the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament: they wrote to him as they had formerly done to the Duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hochſtedt. After this conqueſt, the South-Sea Stock continued to riſe, notwithſtanding the immenſe expences of the Nation, the Engliſh being in hopes of conquering Spaniſh-America. They imagined that nothing could ſtand before Admiral Vernon; and a little after, when he laid ſiege to Carthagena, they were in ſo great haſte to celebrate the taking of it, that while he was raiſing the ſiege, they ſtruck off a medal, on one ſide of which was the port and the town of Carthagena, with this motto, "He has taken Carthagena." On the other ſide was Admiral Vernon, with the inſcription, "To the Avenger of his Country." There are a great many inſtances of theſe premature medals, which might deceive poſterity, if hiſtory, which is more faithful and exact, did not prevent ſuch errors.

France, who had but a weak marine, did not declare openly; but the French Miniſtry aſſiſted the Spaniards as much as lay in their power.

Such then was the ſituation of affairs between England and Spain, when the death of Charles VI. gave riſe to ſo much trouble in Europe. We have ſeen how much Germany ſuffered by the diſputes between Auſtria and Bavaria; nor did Italy eſcape the deſolation which attended this Auſtrian ſucceſſion. The Milaneſe was reclaimed by the Spaniards. Parma and Placentia belonged by birthright to one of the ſons of the Queen, who was born Princeſs of Parma. Had Philip V. claimed the Milaneſe for himſelf, all Italy would have been alarmed; or if Don Carlos, already maſter of Naples and Sicily, had pretended to Parma and Placentia, the uniting ſo many States under one Sovereign could not fail of creating diſturbances; therefore Don Philip, the younger brother of Don Carlos, was then pitched upon to inherit the Milaneſe and Parma. The Queen of Hungary,

who was miſtreſs of the Milaneſe, endeavoured to ſupport her right to that Province, while the King of Sardinia Duke of Savoy renewed his pretenſions; being afraid that the Houſe of Auſtria-Lorrain, poſſeſſing at once the Milaneſe and Tuſcany, might one day recover thoſe territories, which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he dreaded ſtill more the power of France, and a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon, when he already ſaw another Prince of that Houſe in poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily.

From the beginning of 1742, he reſolved to unite himſelf with the Queen of Hungary, without joining with her in all her views. They were to unite only againſt the preſent danger, which threatened both, without ſeeking further advantages; and the King of Sardinia reſerved to himſelf the liberty of altering his meaſures when he ſhould think proper. It was a treaty between two enemies, who only meant to defend themſelves againſt a third. The Court of Spain ſent the Infant Don Philip to attack the Duke-King of Sardinia, who did not chooſe him either as a friend or as a neighbour. Cardinal Fleury had permitted Don Philip and part of his army to paſs through France, but would not aſſiſt him with troops.

At one time great things are done; while at another, men are afraid of doing any thing. The reaſon of this conduct was, that the French flattered themſelves with bringing over the King of Sardinia to their intereſt, who gave them ſome room to hope for ſucceſs.

Beſides, they did not chooſe an open war with the Engliſh, who would have declared it immediately. The revolutions in Germany hindered them alſo at that time from irritating the Maritime Powers. The Engliſh openly oppoſed the ſettlement of Don Philip in Italy, under the pretence of preſerving the balance of Europe.

That balance, whether well or ill underſtood, had become the favourite paſſion of the Engliſh; but this covered a more concealed intereſt which the Engliſh Miniſtry had in view: they wanted to oblige Spain to divide with them the trade of the New World. On this con-

condition they would have permitted Don Philip to have gone over to Italy, as they had aſſiſted Don Carlos in the year 1731. But the Court of Spain would not agree to enrich its enemies at its own expence, and thought itſelf ſufficiently able to eſtabliſh Don Philip in his dominions.

In the months of November and December, 1741, the Spaniſh Court ſent over ſeveral bodies of troops to Italy, under the command of the Duke of Montemar, who was not leſs known by the victory of Bitonto, than by his diſgrace which followed it. Theſe troops landed ſucceſſively on the coaſts of Tuſcany, and in the ports of the State called *Degli Preſidii* belonging to the Crown of the Two Sicilies. It was neceſſary to paſs through the dominions of the Grand-Duke, huſband to the Queen of Hungary, who was obliged to grant them free paſſage, and declare his country neutral. The Duke of Modena, who had married the daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, likewiſe declared himſelf neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. through whoſe territories both Spaniards and Auſtrians muſt paſs, embraced the ſame neutrality with a better grace than the others: he acted in this reſpect as the common father of the Princes and the people, whilſt his children lived at free quarters in his dominions.

Freſh troops arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa. That Republic declared itſelf neutral, and let them paſs. At the ſame time even the King of Naples embraced the neutrality, though the queſtion was the cauſe of his father and his brother. But of all the Powers neutral in appearance, not one of them was ſo in fact.

With reſpect to the neutrality of the King of Naples, obſerve what was the conſequence of it. To their great ſurprize, on the 18th of Auguſt, an Engliſh ſquadron appeared within ſight of the port of Naples. It conſiſted of ſix men of war of ſixty guns each, ſix frigates, and two bomb ketches. Commodore (ſince Admiral) Martin, who commanded this ſquadron, ſent an officer on ſhore with a letter to the Prime Miniſter; the ſubſtance of which was, that the King ſhould recal his troops from

the Spaniſh army, or the town would immediately be bombarded. They held ſeveral conſultations, until the Engliſh Commodore, laying his watch upon the deck, told them he would allow them only one hour to come to a determination. The port was badly provided with artillery; they had not taken the neceſſary precautions againſt an unexpected attack; and they were then ſenſible that the old maxim, "maſter by ſea maſter by "land," is often true. They were obliged to comply with the Engliſh Commodore's demands, and to keep their promiſes until they could put the port and Kingdom into a ſtate of defence.

The Engliſh themſelves were ſenſible that the King of Naples could no more keep that forced neutrality in Italy, than the King of England had obſerved his in Germany.

The Spaniſh army under the command of the Duke of Montemar, which had come into Italy to ſubdue Lombardy, being cloſely puſhed by the Auſtrians, had retired to the frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples. About this time the King of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his Duchy of Savoy, where the viciſſitudes of the war required his preſence. The Infant Don Philip had been prevented by the Engliſh ſquadron from landing freſh troops at Genoa; but he had penetrated by land into the Duchy of Savoy, of which he ſoon became maſter. That country is almoſt open on the ſide of Dauphiny. It is ſo barren and poor, that it was with difficulty its Sovereigns could raiſe from it a revenue of fifteen hundred thouſand livres. Charles-Emanuel, King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy, had abandoned it to go to the defence of Piedmont, a country of greater importance *.

We ſee by this detail that all Europe was alarmed, and that all the Provinces experienced calamities, from the fartheſt corner of Sileſia to the extremity of Italy. Although Auſtria was at open war with Bavaria alone, yet all Italy was ravaged. The people of the Milaneſe, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guaſtalla, obſerved theſe irruptions and deſolations with an impotent

* In December, 1743.

concern,

concern, having been long accuſtomed to be the prize of the conqueror, without even daring to give either denial or conſent.

The Court of Spain demanded a paſſage from the Swiſs through their country to ſend new troops into Italy, which was refuſed. The Swiſs Cantons ſell ſoldiers to all the Powers, and defend their country againſt them. Their government is pacific, and the people warriors. Such a neutrality was reſpected. The Venetians, on their ſide, raiſed twenty thouſand men to give weight to theirs.

There was in the harbour of Toulon a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen men of war, which had been deſtined to carry Don Philip to Italy; but he had gone by land, as has been already mentioned. It was deſigned to carry proviſions for his troops; but could not, being conſtantly detained in port by an Engliſh fleet, which commanded the Mediterranean, and inſulted all the coaſts of Italy and Provence. As the Spaniſh engineers were not expert in their art, they were exerciſed during four months in the harbour of Toulon in ſhooting at a mark; and prizes were propoſed, to excite their emulation and induſtry.

When they had acquired ſufficient ſkill, the Spaniſh ſquadron, commanded by Don Joſeph Navarro, ſailed from the road of Toulon. It conſiſted only of twelve men of war. The Spaniards not having a ſufficient number of ſailors and engineers to work ſixteen, it was immediately joined by fourteen French ſhips, four frigates, and three fire-ſhips, under the command of Mr. de Court, who at the age of fourſcore enjoyed all the vigour of body and mind which ſuch a ſtation required. Forty years had elapſed ſince the ſea-fight off Malaga, where he had ſerved as Captain on board the Admiral's ſhip; and ſince that time there had been no engagement at ſea in any part of the world, excepting that off Meſſina in 1718 *.

* Between the fleets of Spain and Auſtria.

Admiral Matthews preſented himſelf before the united ſquadrons of France and Spain. His fleet conſiſted of forty-five ſhips, five frigates, and four fire-ſhips. With the advantage of a ſuperior number, he likewiſe contrived to get the wind in his favour; a manœuvre upon which victory often depends in ſea-fights, as it does at land on an advantageous poſt. The Engliſh were the firſt who ranged their naval forces in the order of battle which is now in uſe; and it is from them that other nations have learned to diſpoſe of their fleets into the diviſions of van, center, and rear. They fought in this order at the engagement off Toulon*, where the two fleets were equally damaged, and alike diſperſed.

This battle was indeciſive, as ſea-fights almoſt always are (if we except that off La Hogue), in which the fruits of great preparations and an obſtinate action are the deſtruction of numbers on both ſides, and the diſmaſting of the veſſels. Each party complained. The Spaniards thought they had not been properly ſupported: the French accuſed the Spaniards of ingratitude. Though theſe two nations were in alliance, they were not always united. Their ancient antipathy ſometimes revived among the people, though a good intelligence ſubſiſted between their Kings.

The real advantage of this battle was, in fact, gained by the French and Spaniards; as the Mediterranean being now free, at leaſt for ſome time, the proviſions which Don Philip ſtood in need of might be eaſily ſent him from the coaſts of Provence. But when admiral Matthews returned to thoſe ſeas, neither French fleets nor Spaniſh ſquadrons could oppoſe him. Theſe two nations being obliged conſtantly to ſupport numerous armies by land, were not poſſeſſed of that powerful navy which forms the baſis of the Engliſh power.

* February 22, 1744.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Prince of Conti forces the Paſſages of the Alps. Situation of Affairs in Italy.

IN the midſt of theſe ſtruggles, Louis XV. declared war againſt the King of England and the Queen of Hungary *; who, in return, declared war againſt him with the uſual formalities †. This was only a piece of ſuperfluous ceremony on both ſides. Neither Spain nor Naples declared war, but they carried it on.

Don Philip at the head of twenty thouſand Spaniards commanded by the Marquis de la Mina, and the Prince of Conti followed by twenty thouſand French, ſeverally inſpired their troops with that ſpirit of confidence and of reſolute courage which were neceſſary for penetrating into Piedmont, where one battalion may ſtop a whole army; where they are expoſed every moment to fight among rocks, precipices and torrents; and where the difficulty of convoys reaching them was none of the ſmalleſt they had to encounter. The Prince of Conti, who had ſerved as Lieutenant-General in the unſucceſsful war of Bavaria, had had experience in his youth.

On the firſt of April 1744, the Infant Don Philip and he paſſed the Varo, a river which falls from the Alps into the ſea of Genoa, below Nice. The whole county of Nice ſurrendered; but before they could advance farther, they were obliged to attack the intrenchments thrown up near Villa-Franca; and after them they were oppoſed by thoſe of the fortreſs of Montalban, ſituated among the rocks which formed a long chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. They could not march but in defiles, and through hollow ways, where they were expoſed to the artillery of the enemy, which annoyed them alſo when clambering from rock to rock.

* April 26, 1744. † May 13, 1744.

They were obliged to encounter ſome of the Engliſh even on the Alps; for Admiral Matthews, after refitting his fleet, had returned to reſume the empire of the ſea. He had landed at Villa-Franca, where his ſoldiers joined the Piedmonteſe, and his engineers ſerved the artillery. Notwithſtanding theſe dangers, the Prince of Conti preſented himſelf before the rampart of Piedmont, near Villa-Franca, which was about two hundred toiſes* in height, thought by the King of Sardinia to be inacceſſible, and covered with French and Spaniards. The Engliſh Admiral and his ſailors were on the point of being taken priſoners, there.

They then advanced and penetrated as far as the Valley of Chateau-Dauphin†. The Count de Campo-ſanto, at the head of the Spaniards, followed the Prince of Conti through another defile. He had obtained the name and title of Campo-ſanto from the battle of Campo-ſanto, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by aſtoniſhing acts of valour. This appellation was given him as a recompence; in the ſame manner as the name of Bitonto had been given to the Duke of Montemar, after the battle of Bitonto. No title can be more glorious than that of a battle which one has gained.

The Bailiff of Givri, in open day, ſcaled a rock on which two thouſand Piedmonteſe were entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the firſt that mounted the rampart at Prague, was among the foremoſt who reached the top. This ſcene was more bloody than that of Prague, as they had no cannon, and the Piedmonteſe kept playing theirs conſtantly upon the aſſailants. The King of Sardinia was in perſon behind theſe entrenchments, endeavouring to animate his troops. The Bailiff of Givri was wounded at the beginning of the action; and the Marquis de Villemur, being informed that a paſſage not leſs important had been happily carried by the French, ordered a retreat, which Givri inſtantly cauſed to be beat: but the officers and ſoldiers were too much animated to liſten to it.

* A Toiſe is a fathom, a meaſure of two yards. † July 19, 1744.

Lieu-

Lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaped into the firſt entrenchment, where he was followed by the grenadiers; and, what is hardly credible, they paſſed cloſe by the very embraſures of the enemy's cannon, at the inſtant that the pieces being fired were recoiling with their uſual motion *. They loſt about two thouſand men in this action; but not one of the Piedmonteſe eſcaped.

The King of Sardinia, in deſpair, wanted to throw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants, and they kept him back with much difficulty. The Bailiff of Givri, Colonel Salis, and the Marquis de la Carte, were among the ſlain; the Duke d'Agenois with a great many others were wounded. But ſtill their loſs was leſs conſiderable than they might have expected from ſuch a ſituation.

The Count de Campo-ſanto, who could not arrive in time at the narrow ſteep defile where this furious engagement was in agitation, wrote to the Marquis de la Mina, General of the Spaniſh army under Don Philip: "We may have, ſays he, opportunities of behaving "as well as the French, but it is impoſſible to behave "better."

I always take notice of thoſe letters of the General officers which contain any intereſting particulars. For this reaſon, I ſhall tranſcribe that which the Prince of Conti wrote to the King concerning this engagement. "This has been, ſays he, one of the moſt brilliant and "lively actions that ever happened. The troops have "ſhewn a valour more than human. The Brigade of "Poitou, having M. d'Agenois at its head, has gained "immortal honour.

"The valour and preſence of mind of M. de Chevert "chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you "M. de Solemi, and the Chevalier de Modena. La "Carte is killed. Your Majeſty, who knows the value "of friendſhip, will feel how much I am affected by "his loſs."

* What was there incredible in this? *Tranſlator.*

Such

Such expreſſions of a Prince to a King are leſſons of virtue to the reſt of mankind, and hiſtory ought to preſerve them.

During the attack on Chateau-Dauphin, it was found neceſſary to carry what was called *The Barricades*; a paſſage about eighteen feet broad between two mountains which reached the clouds. Into this precipice the King of Sardinia had turned the courſe of the river Sture, which watered the neighbouring valley. Three entrenchments, and a covered way beyond the river, defended the poſt of the Barricades. After this, they had to reduce the caſtle of Demont, built at an immenſe expence on the top of a detached rock, in the middle of the valley of Sture; whence the French, being then maſters of the Alps, could diſtinguiſh the plains of Piedmont. Theſe Barricades were artfully ſurrounded by the French and Spaniards the night before the attack on Chateau-Dauphin. They were carried almoſt without ſtriking a blow, by putting thoſe who defended them between two fires. This advantage was one of the maſter-ſtrokes in the art of war; for it was glorious, it obtained the object in view, and was not bloody.

CHAP. X.

New Misfortunes of the Emperor Charles VII. The Battle of Dettingen.

THESE great actions, however, were but of little ſervice in promoting the principal deſign; which is generally the caſe in all wars. The cauſe of the Queen of Hungary was not the leſs triumphant. The Emperor Charles VII. in fact named Emperor by the King of France, was not leſs baniſhed from his own eſtates, nor leſs a wanderer in Germany. The French were not leſs repulſed on the Rhine and the Mayne: in fine, France was not the leſs exhauſted, by ſupporting a cauſe which was foreign to her, and for a war which ſhe might have kept clear of; a war undertaken by

by the ſole ambition of Marſhal Belleiſle, in which there was but little to be gained, and a great deal to be loſt.

The Emperor Charles VII. at firſt took refuge in Augſburg, a free imperial city under a republican government, and famous from the name of Auguſtus; the only one which had preſerved any remains, though corrupted, of that name, which was formerly ſo common to the frontier towns of Germany and of Gaul. He made but a ſhort ſtay there; and on leaving it, in the month of June 1743, had the mortification to ſee a Colonel of Huſſars, named Mentzel, noted for his brutality and robberies, enter the place, and inſult him in the public ſtreets.

His unhappy deſtiny next led him to Frankfort, a city ſtill more privileged than Augſburg, and in which he had carried his election to the Empire, but where he now ſaw his misfortunes encreaſe. Four miles from this new refuge he came to a battle, which finally decided his fate.

The Earl of Stair, a Scotch nobleman, one of thoſe brought up under the Duke of Marlborough, and formerly Ambaſſador in France, had marched towards Frankfort with an army of above fifty thouſand men, conſiſting of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. The King of England arrived with his ſecond ſon, the Duke of Cumberland, after having gone to Frankfort, the very aſylum of the Emperor whom he had acknowledged as his ſovereign, and againſt whom he was making war in hopes to dethrone him.

Marſhal Duke de Noailles, who headed the French army, had borne arms ever ſince he was fifteen years of age. He had commanded at Catalonia, in the war of 1701, and had ſince filled the ſeveral principal departments of the ſtate. Though at the head of the finances at the beginning of the regency, at once a General of the army and Miniſter of State, he ceaſed not to cultivate literature; an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but, in the preſent times, very ſeldom to be met with in Europe. This General, by an extraordinary manœuvre, immediately made himſelf maſter

maſter of the field; hemmed in the army of the Engliſh, which had the Mayne between it and the French; and cut off their proviſions, by commanding the paſſages above and below their camp.

The King of England was poſted in Aſchaffenburg, a town upon the Mayne belonging to the Elector of Mentz. He had taken this ſtep againſt the advice of Lord Stair, and began to repent it. He now ſaw his army blocked up and famiſhed by the Marſhal de Noailles, and was obliged to reduce his ſoldiers to half their common allowance. They were ſo much in want of forage, that it was propoſed to hamſtring the horſes; and it would have been put in execution, if they had remained two days longer in that ſituation. The King of England was, at laſt, obliged to retire to ſeek proviſions at Hanau, on the road to Frankfort; but in his retreat he was expoſed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, placed on the banks of the Mayne. It was neceſſary to haſten the march of an army weakened by hunger, and whoſe rear-guard might be deſtroyed by the French. For Marſhal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw over bridges between Dettingen and Aſchaffenburg, upon the road to Hanau, and the Engliſh had to their other miſtakes added that of ſuffering them to be conſtructed.

On the 26th of June, at midnight, the King of England decamped his army with the greateſt ſilence, and hazarded a precipitate and dangerous march, to which they were thus reduced. Marſhal de Noailles obſerved the Engliſh, who ſeemed to be haſtening to their ruin, in a ſtrait road between a mountain and a river. He took this opportunity to cauſe the ſquadrons of the King's houſhold, the dragoons and huſſars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the Engliſh muſt paſs. He ordered four brigades of infantry and the French guards to file off over two bridges. Theſe troops were to remain poſted at Dettingen, on this ſide of a hollow road, where they could not be obſerved by the Engliſh, whoſe motions, at the ſame time were ſeen by Marſhal Noailles. The enemy was likewiſe

wiſe hemmed in by two batteries, which M. de Valliere, a ſkilful engineer, had erected on the banks of the river, and which were played againſt them. This obliged them to paſs through a defile between Dettingen and a little river. Thus ſituated, the French might have fired upon them with certain advantage, and the King of England himſelf might have become their priſoner. In ſhort, this was a deciſive moment which might have put an end to the war.

The Marſhal recommended to his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, Lieutenant-general and Colonel of the guards, to remain in this poſition till the enemy ſhould come and put themſelves into his power. Unfortunately, however, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to bring his cavalry more forward. Moſt of his officers were of opinion, that he ought to have remained at the head of his troops to give orders. He detached five brigades to occupy the poſt of Aſchaffenburg, ſo that the Engliſh were encompaſſed on all ſides. But a moment's impatience rendered all theſe meaſures ineffectual.

The Duke de Grammont imagined the firſt column of the enemy was already gone by, and that he had nothing to do but to fall on the rear-guard, which could not oppoſe him. He accordingly ordered his troops to paſs the hollow way: thus quitting an advantageous poſt, where he ſhould have remained, he advanced with the regiment of guards and that of the Noailles infantry into a ſmall plain called the Cock-field, where the Engliſh, who filed off in order of battle, ſoon formed themſelves. By this means the French, who had drawn the enemy into a ſnare, fell into it themſelves. They ruſhed on to the attack in great diſorder, and with unequal ſtrength. The cannon which had been placed along the banks of the Mayne by M. de Valliere, and which had played with ſucceſs on the enemy's flank, particularly the Hanoverians, were rendered uſeleſs, as they could not now be employed without annoying the French themſelves. Juſt as this miſtake was committed, Marſhal Noailles returned to that part of the army.

The

The King's houſhold on horſeback and the carabineers by their impetuoſity ſoon broke two lines of the enemy's infantry; but the latter immediately rallied and ſurrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards advanced with great intrepidity at the head of a ſmall body of infantry; which coſt them dear, for twenty-one of them were killed on the ſpot, and as many dangerouſly wounded; ſo that the whole regiment was routed.

The Duke de Chartres (ſince Duke of Orleans), the Prince of Clermont, Count d'Eu, and the Duke de Penthievre, notwithſtanding his youth, uſed all their efforts to ſtop this confuſion. The Count de Noailles had two horſes killed under him, and his brother the Duke d'Ayen was thrown from his horſe.

It was in vain the Marquis de Puiſegur, ſon of the Marſhal of that name, called to the ſoldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied as many of them as he could, and even killed ſome with his own hand who fled and cried out, "Save himſelf who can!" The Princes and Dukes of Biron, Luxemburg, Richelieu, and Pequigni-Chevreuſe, alſo rallied ſome brigades, and broke into the lines of the enemy.

In another quarter the King's houſhold and the carabineers ſtood their ground. In one place might be ſeen a troop of gendarmes; in another, a company of guards; here, an hundred muſqueteers; there, companies of cavalry advancing with light-horſe; and others who followed the carabineers or the grenadiers on horſeback, all running up to the Engliſh ſword-in-hand with more courage than good order. Indeed they had ſo little of the latter, that about fifty muſqueteers, hurried on by their valour, penetrated into the regiment of horſe commanded by Lord Stair. Twenty-ſeven officers of horſe belonging to the royal houſhold periſhed in this confuſion; and ſixty-ſix were dangerouſly wounded: among the laſt were Count d'Eu, Count d'Harcourt, Count de Beuvron, the Duke de Boufflers; and Count de la Motte Houdancourt, gentleman of honour to the Queen, his horſe being killed, was for ſome time trampled under foot

foot by the cavalry, and at laſt carried off almoſt dead.

The Marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken, and the Duke de Rochechouart, firſt gentleman of the chamber, having been twice wounded, continued fighting until he was killed on the ſpot. The Marquiſſes de Sabran and de Fleury, the Counts d'Eſtrade and Roſtaing, likewiſe loſt their lives; nor muſt we omit, among the particulars of that melancholy day, the death of the Count de Boufflers, of the branch of Remiancourt. He was a boy little more than ten years old. A cannon-ball broke his leg, which he ſaw cut off, and died with amazing reſolution. Such youth and courage greatly affected tne ſpectators of his misfortune.

The loſs was no leſs conſiderable among the Engliſh officers. The King of England fought on foot and on horſeback, ſometimes at the head of his cavalry, and at others at the head of the infantry. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded by his ſide; the Duke d'Aremberg, the Auſtrian General, received a wound in the upper part of his breaſt; and the Engliſh loſt ſeveral General officers. The combat laſted three hours, but it was too unequal: courage alone was engaged againſt numbers, valour, and diſcipline. At length Marſhal Noailles gave orders for a retreat.

The King of England dined on the field of battle, and immediately after retreated, without allowing time to take care of all his wounded, ſix hundred of whom were left behind, and recommended by Lord Stair to the generoſity of the Marſhal de Noailles. They were treated by the French as their countrymen; both Nations behaving to each other with much reſpect. The letters which paſſed between the two Generals ſhew how far politeneſs and humanity may be carried even amidſt the horrors of war.

Nor was this greatneſs of mind peculiar to the Earl of Stair and the Duke of Noailles. The Duke of Cumberland gave an inſtance of equal generoſity, which ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity.—It happened that a muſqueteer named Girardau, being dangerouſly wounded, was brought near the Duke's tent. Moſt of the ſurgeons

geons being buſy elſewhere, thoſe who were at hand were preparing to dreſs the Duke, who was wounded by a ball in the calf of his leg. "Begin, ſaid the Prince, "by dreſſing that French officer's wound; he is more "hurt than I: he may perhaps want aſſiſtance; I ſhall "have help enough."

In other reſpects the loſs of both armies was nearly equal. The allies had two thouſand two hundred and thirty-one men killed and wounded, according to the Engliſh account, which ſeldom diminiſhes their own loſs, or exaggerates that of the enemy.

The French ſuffered a great loſs in rendering the moſt excellent diſpoſitions abortive, by the ſame precipitate ardour and want of diſcipline which formerly occaſioned their loſing the battles of Poitiers, Creſſy, and Agincourt. The writer of this hiſtory ſaw the Earl of Stair at the Hague about ſix weeks after the battle, and took the liberty to aſk him his opinion of it. That General returned for anſwer, "I think the French were guilty "of one great fault, and we of two. Yours was, in not "having patience to wait for us; and ours were, firſt "in running ourſelves into imminent danger of de-"ſtruction, and then in not having taken the advan-"tage of our victory."

After this action a great many French and Engliſh officers went to Frankfort, a neutral city, where the Emperor ſaw, one after the other, the Earl of Stair and Marſhal de Noailles, without being able to expreſs any other ſentiments than thoſe of patience under his misfortunes.

The Marſhal de Noailles found the Emperor labouring under the greateſt chagrin, without dominions, without hope, and even deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſting his family in that Imperial city, in which no perſon would advance a ſhilling to the Chief of the Empire. He gave him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns, being certain that this relief would not be diſallowed by the King his maſter. To ſuch a ſituation was at this time reduced the majeſty of the Roman Empire!

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The first Campaign of Louis XV. in Flanders, and his Successes. He quits Flanders to go to the Relief of Alsace, which was threatened with an Invasion, while the Prince of Conti endeavoured to open the Passage through the Alps. New Confederacies. The King of Prussia again takes up Arms.

IT was in these dangerous circumstances, in this shock of so many States, in this medley and confusion of war and politics, that Louis XV. commenced his first campaign. The frontiers on the German side were guarded with much difficulty. The Queen of Hungary had made the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate take an oath of fidelity. She caused a Memorial to be published in Frankfort, where Charles VII. had retired, in which the election of this Emperor was declared totally null and void; so that he was obliged at last to declare himself neuter, as they still kept stripping him of his estates. Proposals were made to him for abdicating and resigning the Empire to Francis of Lorrain, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, husband to Maria-Theresa.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand-Duke, formed a lodgement in an Isle upon the Rhine near to Old Brisac. Some Hungarian parties penetrated beyond the Saar, and entered the frontiers of Lorrain. The famous partizan Mentzel dispersed manifestos in Alsace, in the Three Bishopricks and in the Franche-Comté, in which he invited the people, in the name of the Queen of Hungary, to return to their obedience to the House of Austria. He threatened the inhabitants who should take up arms to hang them up, after he had forced them to cut off their own noses and ears. This piece of insolence, worthy a soldier of Attila, though despicable in itself, was a proof of success. The Austrian armies threatened

Naples at the time the French and Spaniſh armies were only in the Alps. The Engliſh, victorious by land, rode triumphant upon the ſeas. The Dutch were going to declare themſelves, and promiſed to join the Engliſh and Auſtrians in Flanders. Every thing was adverſe. The King of Pruſſia, ſatisfied with being poſſeſſed of Sileſia, had made a ſeparate peace with the Queen of Hungary.

Louis XV. bore all the burthen of this war. He not only protected the frontiers upon the borders of the Rhine and the Moſelle with his troops, but he even prepared to invade England. He ſent to Rome for the young Prince Charles-Edward, eldeſt ſon of the Pretender, and grandſon to the unfortunate King James II. A fleet of one-and-twenty ſhips, containing twenty-four thouſand land forces, convoyed * him into the Engliſh Channel. This Prince had now the firſt ſight of the coaſt of his Kingdom; but a tempeſt, and, ſtill more, a fleet of Engliſh men of war, rendered this enterprize fruitleſs.

About this time the King ſet out for Flanders. He had a glorious army, which Comte d'Argenſon, Secretary of War, had taken care to furniſh with every thing neceſſary for the ſiege or the field.

Louis XV. arrived in Flanders. At his approach the Dutch, who had promiſed to join the Auſtrian and Engliſh troops, began to be afraid. They did not dare to fulfil their promiſe, but ſent deputies to the King, inſtead of troops againſt him; while the French took Courtray and Menin † in the preſence of thoſe very deputies.

The very day after the taking of Menin he inveſted Ypres. The Prince of Clermont, Abbé of St. Germain-des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the ſiege of Ypres. There had not been ſeen in France, ſince the times of the Cardinals Valette and Sourdis, a man who had thus united the profeſſion of arms with that of the Church. The Prince of Clermont had this permiſſion from Pope Clement XII. who was of opinion, that the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion ought to be ſubordinate to that of war in the perſon of the great-grandſon of the renowned Condé. They attacked the covered way in the

* January 9, 1744. † Courtray, May 18; and Menin, June 5.

front

front of the Lower Town, although that enterprize ſeemed hazardous and premature. Field-Marſhal Marquis de Beauveau, at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbon and Royal-Comtois, received a mortal wound which gave him exceſſive pain. He died in inconceivable tortures, regretted by the officers and ſoldiers as a promiſing General, and by all Paris as a man of ſenſe and probity. He ſaid to the ſoldiers who carried him off, "Leave me, my friends, to die, and return to the "battle." Ypres ſoon capitulated *: on which not a moment was loſt. While they entered this town, the Duke of Boufflers took Kenoque †; and while the King was afterwards going to take a view of the frontiers, the Prince of Clermont undertook the ſiege of Furnes, which, in five days after the trenches were opened, hung out the white flag and ſubmitted ‡.

The Engliſh and Auſtrian Generals who commanded on the ſide of Bruſſels, beheld this rapid progreſs without being able to ſtop it. A body of troops under the command of Marſhal Saxe, which the King had ordered to oppoſe them, were ſo well poſted, and covered the ſieges ſo opportunely, that their ſucceſs was infallible. The allies had not formed any fixed or ſettled plan for the campaign. The operations of the French army were well concerted. Marſhal Saxe, poſted at Courtray, prevented all the efforts of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the French. A numerous artillery which they eaſily drew from Douay; a regiment of matroſſes, conſiſting of near five thouſand men, fully officered for conducting ſieges, and compoſed of ſoldiers active and well diſciplined; add to theſe a large body of engineers; were advantages that Nations uniting in haſte to declare war could not be poſſeſſed of for ſome years. Such eſtabliſhments as theſe muſt be the fruit of time and conſtant attention in a powerful monarchy; and hence the French have neceſſarily the ſuperiority in ſieges over other Nations.

In the midſt of this progreſs, news arrived that the Auſtrians had paſſed the Rhine on the ſide of Spire, in ſight of the French and Bavarians §; that they had en-

* June 25. † June 29. ‡ July 11. § June 29 and 30, 174 .

tered Alſace; and that the frontiers of Lorrain lay expoſed to them. This news was not at firſt believed; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by making ſeveral feints in different places at once, ſucceeded at length on that ſide where Count Seckendorff commanded the Bavarians, the Palatines, and Heſſians, allies in the ſervice of France.

The Auſtrian army, to the number of about ſixty thouſand men, entered Alſace without any reſiſtance. Prince Charles in one hour made himſelf maſter of Lauterbourg, a poſt weakly fortified, but of the utmoſt importance. He ordered General Nadaſti to advance to Weiſſenbourg, an open town; the garriſon of which were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. He put a body of ten thouſand men into the town and the lines ſurrounding it. Marſhal Coigny, who commanded in theſe quarters, an intrepid, diſcreet, and modeſt General, celebrated for two victories in Italy in the war of 1738, ſeeing his communication with the French cut off, and that the Province of Meſſin and all Lorrain was falling a prey to the Auſtrians and Hungarians, had no other reſource left than to paſs by the enemy's troops to re-enter Alſace and cover the country. He marched immediately with the major part of his army to Weiſſenbourg, juſt as the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of it*. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Auſtrians defended themſelves with courage. They fought in the ſquares and in the ſtreets, which were ſoon covered with the ſlain. The action laſted ſix hours. The Bavarians, who had very indifferently guarded the Rhine, repaired their negligence by their valour. They were above all encouraged by the Count of Mortagne, at that time Lieutenant-General in the ſervice of the Emperor, who received no leſs than ten muſket-ſhots in his clothes. The Marquis of Montal commanded the French. They at length retook the town and the lines; but were ſoon forced by the arrival of the whole Auſtrian army to retire towards Haguenau, which they were alſo obliged to abandon. The flying parties of the enemy puſhed ſeveral leagues beyond the Saar, and ſpread terror even

* July 12, 1744.

to Luneville, from which King Staniſlaus Lezkinſky was forced to depart with all his Court.

At the news of this reverſe of fortune, which the King heard at Dunkirk, he did not heſitate on the part he ought to take. He reſolved to interrupt the courſe of this ſucceſs in Flanders, to leave Marſhal Saxe with about forty thouſand men to preſerve what he had taken, and to haſten himſelf to the relief of Alſace.

After having diſpatched Marſhal Noailles before him, he ſent the Duke of Harcourt with ſome troops to guard the Streights of Phalſburg, and prepared to march himſelf at the head of twenty-ſix battalions and thirty-three ſquadrons. This reſolution of his Majeſty in his firſt campaign tranſported the hearts of the Nation, and revived the drooping ſpirits of the Provinces alarmed by the paſſage of the Rhine, and ſtill more ſo by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany.

The King took his route by St. Quintin, La Fere, Laon, and Rheims, marching his troops with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the ſoldiers pay and ſubſiſtence; a circumſtance which encreaſed the love of his ſubjects. He arrived at Metz the 5th of Auguſt, and on the 7th tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, compelled Prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, reſtored the Emperor to his dominions, and reduced the Queen of Hungary to a more perilous ſituation than any ſhe had yet experienced.

One would imagine that this Princeſs had nothing to fear from the King of Pruſſia after the peace of Breſlaw, eſpecially after a defenſive alliance concluded the ſame year betwixt that Prince and the King of England. But the Queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, being united againſt the Emperor by the treaty of Worms; the Northern Powers, and particularly Ruſſia, having been ſtrongly ſolicited to come into this alliance, and the ſucceſs of the Queen of Hungary's arms encreaſing daily in Germany; from this ſituation of the affairs of Europe, it was plain that ſooner or later the King of Pruſſia had every thing to fear. In a word, he

had renewed his engagements with France. The treaty had been ſecretly ſigned the fifth of April; and afterwards a ſtrict alliance had been concluded at Frankfort * between the King of France, the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, in quality of Landgrave of Heſſe. Thus the union of Frankfort was a counterpoiſe to the projects of the union of Worms; ſo that one half of Europe was excited againſt the other, and on all ſides they exhauſted every reſource of policy and war.

Marſhal Schmettau came on the part of Pruſſia to inform the King of France that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourſcore thouſand Pruſſians, and that twenty-two thouſand more were advancing into Moravia.

This powerful diverſion in Germany, the conqueſts of the King in Flanders, and his march into Alſace, had diſſipated the alarms of the French, when they were ſeized with one of a different nature, which ſpread general conſternation throughout the whole Kingdom of France.

CHAP. XII.

The King of France at the Point of Death. He recovers, and marches into Germany; lays ſiege to Fribourg; while the Auſtrian Army, which had penetrated into Alſace, returns to the Relief of Bohemia. The Prince of Conti gains a Battle in Italy.

THE day that *Te-Deum* was ſung in Metz for the taking of Chateau-Dauphin, the King felt ſome ſymptoms of a fever. This was the 8th of Auguſt. His illneſs encreaſed, and the fever turned to the malignant or putrid kind; and on the 14th in the night he was judged to be in imminent danger. His conſtitution was robuſt, and fortified by exerciſe; but the beſt conſtitutions are moſt ſubject to ſink under theſe diſorders, be-

* May 27, 1744.

cauſe

cauſe they have ſtrength enough to ſupport the firſt attacks, and to accumulate for ſome days the principles of a diſeaſe which they reſiſted in the beginning. This event ſpread fear and diſtraction from town to town. The people flocked together from all the country about Metz; the roads were filled with perſons of all ages and conditions, who by their different reports encreaſed the general inquietude.

The news of the King's danger reached Paris in the middle of the night. The inhabitants roſe from their beds, and ran about in great diſorder, without knowing whither they went. The churches were opened, though at midnight; nor did the people any longer regard the time of ſleeping, waking, or eating. All Paris ſeemed diſtracted, and the houſes of perſons in employ were ſurrounded with a continual crowd. The public ſquares were crowded by the populace, who all cried out, "If "he dies, it is for having marched to our relief." Even ſtrangers accoſted and interrogated one another in the churches on the ſubject. In many of the churches the prieſts who read prayers for the King's recovery, interrupted the recital by their tears; the people anſwering them with ſobs and cries. The courier who brought the news of the King's recovery to Paris on the 19th, was embraced and almoſt ſtifled by the people. They kiſſed his horſe, and led him about in triumph. All the ſtreets reſounded with the joyful cry of, "The King is "recovered!" When this Monarch was informed of theſe uncommon tranſports of joy which ſucceeded the general ſorrow, he melted into tears; and raiſing himſelf up, through an emotion of ſenſibility which gave him ſtrength cried out, "What a pleaſure it is to be thus "beloved! What have I done to deſerve it *?"

Such are the people of France; ſuſceptible even to

* The whole of this paſſage is charming; the love of the people, and the modeſty of the Prince! What pity it is that the Kings of the earth do not ſupply us with more frequent inſtances to enrich the *moral* of hiſtory. *Tranſlator.*

enthuſiaſm, and capable of any exceſs in their affections, as well as in their reſentments *!

The Archdutcheſs ſpouſe to Charles Prince of Lorrain died abou this time at Bruſſels in a very deplorable manner †. She was greatly and juſtly beloved by the people of Brabant; but thoſe people are not ſo paſſionate in their attachments as the French.

Courtiers are not like the people. The danger of Louis XV. excited among them even more cabals and intrigues than prevailed when Louis XIV. was upon the point of death at Calais. His grandſon found their effects at Metz. At the very time when they hourly expected his death, they troubled him with the moſt impertinent overtures, inſpired, as they pretended, by the moſt religious motives; though as contrary to reaſon, as void of humanity: but he eſcaped the ſnares of death, as well as thoſe of his courtiers.

He had no ſooner recovered his faculties, than he reflected, in the midſt of his own perſonal danger, on that into which Prince Charles, by his paſſage over the Rhine, had thrown all France. He had marched with no other deſign than that of attacking that Prince; but, having ſent Marſhal Noailles in his place, he ſaid to Count d'Argenſon, "Write in my name to Marſhal Noailles, "and tell him, that while Louis XIII. was carried to "his grave, the Prince of Condé gained a battle ‡." The French nevertheleſs with great difficulty cut off part of the rear-guard of Prince Charles, who retired in good order. This Prince, who had paſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French troops, repaſſed it again with little loſs in the face of a ſuperior army. The King of Pruſſia complained that they had thus let an enemy eſcape, who had delivered himſelf into their hands.

* And ſuch is the character of all Nations who have either ſenſe or virtue. Superſtitious attachments, and *jure divino*, may be the devotion of prieſts, but ſhould never be the religion of the people. *Tranſlator.*

† Said to have fallen a ſacrifice, in child-birth, to the unſkilfulneſs of her midwife.

‡ There was true heroiſm in this. *Tranſlator.*

This

This was a lucky opportunity miſſed; but the illneſs of the King of France; the delays occaſioned in the march of his troops; a difficult and fenny country, which the King muſt have paſſed over to meet the Prince; together with the precautions he had taken, and the bridges he had ſecured; in ſhort, every thing facilitated this retreat, in which he loſt not even a magazine.

Having now repaſſed the Rhine with full fifty thouſand men, Prince Charles marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Straſbourg, he went a ſecond time to the deliverance of Bohemia. But the King of Pruſſia advanced towards Prague, which he inveſted the 4th of September; and, what appeared extraordinary, General Ogilvie, who defended it with fifteen thouſand men, ſurrendered himſelf in ten days after, with his whole garriſon, priſoners of war. This was the ſame governor, who, in 1741, ſurrendered the town in ſtill leſs time, when it was ſtormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thouſand men made priſoners of war, the capital of Bohemia taken, the reſt of the Kingdom ſubmitting in a few days after, Moravia invaded at the ſame time, the French army entering again into Germany, and the ſucceſs in Italy;—all gave hopes that the grand quarrel of Europe was going to be decided in favour of the Emperor Charles VII.

Louis XV. though not perfectly recovered, reſolved upon beſieging Fribourg in September, and accordingly marched his troops for that purpoſe. He paſſed the Rhine in his turn; and to ſtrengthen his hopes of ſucceſs, upon his arrival at Straſbourg, he received the news of a victory gained by the Prince of Conti.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battle of Coni. The Conduct of the King of France. The King of Naples ſurpriſed near Rome.

TO make a deſcent into the Milaneſe, it is neceſſary to take the town of Coni. The Infant Don Philip and the Prince of Conti beſieged it. The King of Sardinia attacked them in their lines with a ſuperior army. Nothing could be better concerted than the enterprize of this monarch. It was one of thoſe occaſions on which it was true policy to give battle. If he proved conqueror, the French would have but few reſources, and a retreat was extremely difficult. If he was beaten, the town would not have been in a worſe condition to defend itſelf at this advanced ſeaſon, and his retreat was ſecured. The diſpoſition of his troops was the moſt artful that ever was made. He was nevertheleſs defeated. The French and Spaniards fought as allies reſolved effectually to aſſiſt each other, and as rivals for fame. The King of Sardinia loſt near five thouſand men, with the field of battle. The Spaniards loſt only nine hundred men, and the French had one thouſand two hundred killed and wounded. The Prince of Conti, who acted the ſoldier as well as the general, had his cuiraſs pierced twice, and two horſes killed under him. He mentioned nothing of this in his letter to the King, but enlarged on the wounds of Meſſieurs de la Force, de Senneterre, and de Chauvelin; on the ſignal ſervices of Monſieur de Courten; on thoſe of Meſſrs. de Choiſeul, du Chaila, de Beaupreau, and of all who had ſeconded him, requeſting rewards for their ſervices. This hiſtory would be but a mere chronicle, if we were to relate all thoſe meritorious actions, which, by becoming common, are loſt in their multiplicity.

But yet this new victory was in the number of thoſe which occaſion great loſſes without producing any real

advantages to the conquerors. Above one hundred and twenty battles have been fought in Europe ſince the year 1600, and among them all ten only were deciſive. Thus hath blood been idly ſpilt on account of political intereſts, which vary every day. This victory at firſt inſpired confidence, which ſoon changed into deſpair. The rigour of the ſeaſon, the melting of the ſnow, the overflowing of the Sture, and the torrents from the mountains, were more uſeful to the King of Sardinia than the victory of Coni was to the Infant and the Prince of Conti. They were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and repaſs the mountains with an army much weakened. It is almoſt always the lot of thoſe who make a campaign near the Alps, if they have not the Sovereign of Piedmont on their ſide, to loſe their troops even by their victories.

The King of France in this wet ſeaſon lay before Fribourg. The beſiegers were obliged to turn the courſe of the river Treiſen, and to open a canal of two thouſand ſix hundred toiſes * in length before it; but ſcarcely was it finiſhed, when a dyke broke, and their work was to do over again. They laboured under the fire of the caſtle of Fribourg, and it was neceſſary to ſet open two branches of the river at once. The bridges built upon the new canal were alſo damaged by the torrent from the broken dyke. Theſe they repaired in one night, and the next day puſhed on for the covert-way over the enemy's mines, and in the face of a continued fire of muſquetry and artillery. Five hundred men were buried in the earth, killed or wounded. Two whole companies were deſtroyed by the exploſion of the mines in the covert-way; and the next day they completely drove out the enemy, in ſpite of the bombs, ſtones, and grenades, with which they made a conſtant and terrible havock. They had ſixteen engineers in theſe two attacks, every one of whom was wounded. A ſtone ſtruck the Prince of Soubiſe, and broke his arm; of which as ſoon as the King was informed, he went

* *Toiſe*, a fathom, or ſix yards.

to

to ſee him, repeating his viſits, and ſtaying to ſee his wounds dreſſed. This tenderneſs in a monarch greatly encouraged the whole army.—The ſoldiers redoubled their ardour in following the Duke de Chartres, now Duke of Orleans, and firſt Prince of the blood, to the trenches and the attacks.

General Damnitz, governor of Fribourg, did not hang out the white flag until the ſixth of November, two months after the opening of the trenches. The reſiſtance of the caſtle laſted only ſeven days. The King, who was now maſter of Briſgau, commanded all Suabia; while the Prince of Clermont, on his part, was advanced even to Conſtance, the Emperor being returned at length to Munich.

Affairs in Italy alſo took a favourable turn, though ſlowly. The King of Naples purſued the Auſtrians, conducted by the Prince de Lobkowitz, upon the territories of Rome. Every thing was to be expected in Bohemia from the diverſion made by the King of Pruſſia; but, by one of thoſe reverſes of fortune ſo common in this war, Prince Charles of Lorrain drove the Pruſſians out of Bohemia, as he had driven the French in 1742 and 1743; the Pruſſians committing the ſame blunders, and retreating in the ſame manner, with which they had reproached the French. They abandoned ſucceſſively all the poſts which ſecured Prague; and at laſt were even obliged to abandon Prague itſelf *.

Prince Charles, who had paſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French army, paſſed the Elbe the ſame year in the ſight of the King of Pruſſia, whom he followed almoſt to Sileſia. His detached parties went up to the gates of Breſlau; and it was at length doubted whether the Queen of Hungary, who appeared in the month of June to be totally undone, would not recover Sileſia in the month of December in the ſame year. Nay, it was apprehended that the Emperor, who had re-entered his deſolate capital, would be obliged to abandon it again.

All Germany was the ſubject of revolution, and of political intrigue. The Kings of France and England

* November 19, 1744.

alternately

alternately purchaſed partizans in the Empire. Auguſtus King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, ſold himſelf to the Engliſh for one hundred and fifty thouſand guineas per annum. If people were aſtoniſhed that in theſe circumſtances a King of Poland and Elector of the Empire was obliged to accept of ſuch a bribe, they were more ſo that England was in a condition to afford it, after having coſt her five hundred thouſand guineas the ſame year to the Queen of Hungary, two hundred thouſand to the King of Sardinia, beſides paying ſubſidies to the Elector of Mentz, and even to the Elector of Cologne, brother to the Emperor, who received twenty-two thouſand guineas from the Court of London for permitting the enemies of his brother to raiſe troops againſt him in his Biſhopricks of Cologne, Munſter, Oſnaburg, Hildeſheim, Paderborn, and their Abbeys; for he had accumulated to himſelf all theſe eccleſiaſtical benefices, according to the cuſtom of Germany, though not according to the rules of the Church. His ſelling himſelf to the Engliſh was not very honourable; but he was of opinion that an Emperor created by France could not ſupport himſelf, and therefore ſacrificed the intereſts of his brother to his own.

Maria-Thereſa had in Flanders a formidable army, compoſed of Germans, Engliſh, and Dutch, who at length declared themſelves, after a long neutrality.

French Flanders was defended by Marſhal Saxe, whoſe army was leſs in number by twenty thouſand men than that of the allies. But this General had recourſe to thoſe military reſources which neither depend on fortune nor the valour of troops. To camp and decamp at proper times; to cover his own country; to maintain his army at the expence of the enemy; to invade their country when they advance on his, and force them to retreat; to render force uſeleſs by means of ſuperior abilities; theſe are the maſter-pieces of the military art, and theſe Marſhal Saxe put in practice from the month of Auguſt to the beginning of November.

The diſputes about the Auſtrian ſucceſſion encreaſed daily; the fate of the Emperor grew more uncertain; the

the intereſts of the contending parties became more complicated; and the ſucceſs of their arms reciprocal.

It is true that this war ſecretly enriched Germany, at the ſame time that its country was laid waſte. The money of France and England, diſpenſed with ſo much profuſion, remained in the hands of the Germans, and in the end rendered this extenſive country more opulent, and conſequently ſome time or other more powerful, if ever it could be re-united under one Chief.

It was not ſo with Italy, which, beſides, cannot raiſe a conſiderable force like Germany in a long ſpace of time. France ſent into the Alps only forty-two battalions and thirty-three ſquadrons, which, the troops being as uſual incomplete, amounted in the whole only to twenty-ſix thouſand men. The Infant's army amounted to near the ſame number in the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, ſo far from enriching a foreign country, drew almoſt all their ſubſiſtence from the Provinces of France. With regard to the territories of the Pope, on which Prince Lobkowitz the Auſtrian General was poſted with about thirty thouſand men, they were rather impoveriſhed than enriched by them. This part of Italy ſoon became a ſcene of blood in that vaſt theatre of war which extended itſelf from the Danube to the Tiber.

The armies of the Queen of Hungary were upon the point of conquering the Kingdom of Naples in the months of March, April, and May, 1744. Ever ſince the month of July the Neapolitan and Auſtrian armies were fighting on the territories of Rome. The King of Naples and the Duke of Modena were in Veletri, formerly the capital of the Volſci, now inhabited by the Deans of the Holy College. The King of the Two Sicilies occupied the palace of Ginetti, an edifice of great magnificence and taſte. The enterprize of Prince Lobkowitz at Veletri turned out like that of Prince Eugene at Cremona in 1702; for hiſtory is only a detail of the ſame events repeated with ſome variation. Six thouſand Auſtrians entered Veletri in the middle of the night, cut to pieces the grand guard, killed thoſe who made reſiſtance,

and

and made priſoners of thoſe who did not. The conſternation and alarm was univerſal. The King of Naples and the Duke of Modena were in danger of being taken. The Marquis de l'Hopital, Ambaſſador of France to the Court of Naples, who accompanied the King, awakened by the alarm, fled to his aſſiſtance and ſaved him. He was no ſooner gone from his houſe than it was filled with ſoldiers, plundered and ranſacked. The King, followed by the Duke of Modena and the Ambaſſador, went to put himſelf at the head of the troops without the town. The Auſtrians diſtributed themſelves in the houſes, and General Novati took poſſeſſion of the Duke of Modena's.

Whilſt the Auſtrians were thus buſy in pillaging and rejoicing in their ſecurity, the ſame thing happened as at Cremona. The Walloon-guards, an Iriſh regiment, and ſome Swiſs, repulſed them, ſtrewed the ſtreets with dead, and retook the town. Prince Lobkowitz was a few days after obliged to retire towards Rome. The King of Naples purſued him. The Prince made towards one gate of the town, and the King towards another. Both of them paſſed the Tiber, and the people of Rome had the ſight of both armies from the ramparts. The King was well received at Rome under the title of the Count de Pouzolles. His guards were under arms in the ſtreets, while he was kiſſing the Pope's toe; and the two armies continued the war upon the territories of Rome, which gave thanks to Heaven that the ravages of war were confined to its Campagnia.

In a word, it is plain that Italy was the grand point in view at the Court of Spain; that Germany was a moſt delicate object with reſpect to the conduct of the Court of France; and that on both ſides ſucceſs was as yet wholly uncertain.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The taking of Marſhal Belleiſle. The Emperor Charles VII. dies; but the War is not carried on with leſs Vigour on that Account.

THE King of France, immediately after the taking of Fribourg, returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his Country, and as a father whom they had been fearful of loſing. He remained there three days to ſhew himſelf to the inhabitants, who by this act of condeſcenſion thought themſelves ſufficiently rewarded for their zeal.

The King, always intending to ſupport the Emperor, had ſent Marſhal Belleiſle to Munich, to Caſſel, and into Sileſia, charged with full powers from himſelf, as well as from the Emperor. This General was on his return from Munich, the imperial reſidence, with the Count his brother. They had been at Caſſel, and followed their route without any ſuſpicion through countries in which the King of Pruſſia had every where poſt-houſes, which, by conventions eſtabliſhed between the Princes of Germany, are always reſpected as neuter and inviolable. As they were taking horſes from one of theſe offices, in a village called Elbingrode, belonging to the Elector of Hanover, they were arreſted by a Hanoverian bailiff*, very ill uſed, and in a very little time after ſent over to England.

The Duke of Belleiſle was a Prince of the Empire, and by this dignity the arreſt might be looked on as a violation of the privileges of the College of Princes. In former times an Emperor would have avenged the illegality of this proceeding; but Charles VII. reigned at a time when every thing might be attempted againſt him, and he had no remedy—but complaints. The French Miniſter pleaded at once all the privileges of Ambaſſadors and the rights of war. If Marſhal Belleiſle

* November 13, 1744.

was

was regarded as Prince of the Empire, and Miniſter of the King of France going to the Pruſſian and Imperial Courts, as neither of theſe were at war with Hanover, it was very certain that his perſon was inviolable. If he was conſidered as a General and Marſhal of France, the King of France offered to pay his and his brother's ranſom, according to the regulation eſtabliſhed at Frankfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England. The ranſom of a Marſhal of France is fifty thouſand livres, and that of a Lieutenant-General fifteen thouſand. The Miniſter of George II. eluded theſe preſſing remonſtrances with a ſtrange and unheard-of evaſion. He declared that he regarded Meſſrs. de Belleiſle as priſoners of ſtate; they were treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed attention, according to the maxims of moſt of the Courts of Europe, who ſoften the injuſtice of policy and the cruelty of war by the moſt flattering external acts of humanity.

The Emperor Charles VII. ſo little reſpected in the Empire, and having in it no other ſupport than the King of Pruſſia (who was at this time purſued by Prince Charles), under apprehenſions that the Queen of Hungary would force him once more to abandon Munich his capital, ſeeing himſelf the ſport of Fortune, and borne down with diſeaſes which his chagrin encreaſed, at length ſunk beneath their accumulated weight, and died at Munich on the 20th of January, 1745, aged forty-ſeven years ſix months; leaving this leſſon to the world, "that the "ſummit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle of ca-"lamity." He had only been unfortunate ſince he became Emperor. Nature from that moment had been more cruel to him than Fortune. A complication of painful diſorders rendered his misfortunes more violent from his corporal ſufferings, and jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with the gout and ſtone; his liver, lungs, and ſtomach, were found gangrened; alſo ſtones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart; ſo that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a moment's eaſe for ſome time paſt. Few Princes had better qualities: they ſerved only to heighten his unhappi-

neſs; and this unhappineſs aroſe from his having taken upon himſelf a burthen he was unable to bear.

The body of this unfortunate Prince was expoſed dreſſed in the ancient Spaniſh faſhion; an etiquette eſtabliſhed by Charles V. although ſince him no Emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles VII. any connection with that Nation. He was interred according to the ceremonies of the Empire; and in this parade of human vanity and miſery, they carried the globe of the world in proceſſion before him, who, during the ſhort courſe of his reign, could not keep poſſeſſion even of one ſmall unfortunate Province. They gave him alſo in ſome reſcripts the title of *Invincible*; a title given by ancient cuſtom to the imperial dignity, and which only ſerved to make his misfortunes appear in a ſtronger light.

It was believed, the cauſe of the war no longer exiſting, peace might be reſtored to Europe. The Empire could not be offered to the ſon of Charles VII. who was only ſeventeen years of age. Germany flattered itſelf that the Queen of Hungary would be inclined to peace, as a ſure means of placing her huſband the Grand-Duke on the Imperial throne; but ſhe was reſolved to ſeat him in it, and at the ſame time to continue the war.

The Engliſh Miniſtry, who gave the law to its allies ſince it furniſhed them with money, and who paid at once the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the King of Sardinia, thought there was ſomething to loſe by a treaty with France, and ſomething to gain by the force of arms.

This general war was continued merely becauſe it was begun: the object was not the ſame as in its origin. It was one of thoſe diſeaſes which in their progreſs change their character. Flanders, which was ſpared before 1744, was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was rather an object of the politics of France than of military operations. The French Miniſtry, who were always for making an Emperor, caſt their eyes on Auguſtus II. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, who was in the Engliſh pay; but France was not quite

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in a condition to make ſuch an offer. The Imperial throne was a dangerous acquiſition for any one who did not poſſeſs Auſtria and Hungary. The Court of France was refuſed: the Elector of Saxony neither dared to accept this honour, recede from the Engliſh, nor diſpleaſe the Queen. He was the ſecond Elector of Saxony who had refuſed to be Emperor.

There remained to France no other reſource but to expect from the fate of arms the deciſion of ſo many different intereſts, which had varied ſo often, and in all their variations had kept Europe in alarm.

The new Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-Joſeph, was the third from father to ſon whom France had ſupported. France had cauſed the grandfather to be reeſtabliſhed in his dominions. She had given the Empire to the father, and the King now made a freſh effort to aſſiſt the young Prince. Six thouſand Heſſians in his pay, three thouſand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of Germans, which had been for a long time in the French ſervice, were already joined to the Bavarian troops, which were always in the King's pay.

That ſo many ſuccours might be efficacious, it was neceſſary that the Bavarians ſhould help themſelves; but their deſtiny was to fall under the Auſtrians. They defended the entry into their country ſo badly, that in the beginning of April the new Elector was obliged to abandon the ſame capital which his father had been ſo often obliged to quit. The misfortunes of his Houſe forced him in the end to apply even to Maria-Thereſa, to renounce the alliance of France, and to receive Engliſh money with the reſt of the allies.

The King of France, abandoned by thoſe for whom only he had begun the war, was obliged to continue it only with a view to put an end to it; a melancholy ſituation, which expoſes a Nation without promiſing it any indemnification.

The courſe he took was to ſtand on his defence in Italy and in Germany, and to act always offenſively in Flanders. This was the ancient ſeat of the war; and there is not a ſingle field in the Province which has not

been ſprinkled with blood. An army towards the Maine hindered the Auſtrians from acting againſt the King of Pruſſia, then the ally of France, with ſuperior forces. Marſhal Maillebois was gone from Germany to Italy; and the Prince of Conti was charged with the war on the ſide of the Maine, which was of a different kind from that he carried on in the Alps.

The King reſolved to finiſh in perſon the conqueſts in Flanders which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had married the Dauphin in the month of February to the ſecond Infanta of Spain; and this young Prince, who was but juſt turned of ſixteen, prepared to accompany his father in the beginning of May.

CHAP. XV.

The Siege of Tournay. The Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe was already in Flanders, at the head of an army compoſed of one hundred and ſix complete battalions, and one hundred and ſeventy-two ſquadrons. Tournay, the ancient capital of the French domains in Flanders, was already inveſted. It was the ſtrongeſt place of the whole barrier. The town and citadel were likewiſe one of the maſter-pieces of Monſieur Vauban; for there was ſcarcely a town in all Flanders to which Louis XIV. had not built fortifications.

As ſoon as the States-General of the Seven Provinces learned that Tournay was in danger, they ſent word it was neceſſary to hazard a battle for the defence of the town. Theſe Republicans, in ſpite of their circumſpection, were at that time the firſt to take bold reſolutions. On the 5th of May the allies marched towards Cambron, within ſeven leagues of Tournay. The King ſet out from Paris with the Dauphin on the ſixth. The

King's Aids-de-camp, and the Nobleſſe attached to the Dauphin *, accompanied them.

The principal force of the enemy's army was twenty battalions and twenty-ſix Engliſh ſquadrons, under the command of the young Duke of Cumberland, who with his royal father had gained the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and ſixteen Hanoverian ſquadrons were joined to the Engliſh.

The Prince of Waldeck (about the age of the Duke of Cumberland, impatient to ſignalize himſelf, was at the head of forty Dutch ſquadrons and twenty-ſix battalions. The Auſtrians had only eight ſquadrons in this army. The war was carried on for them in Flanders, which had been ſo long defended by the arms and money of England and Holland. But at the head of this ſmall number of Auſtrians was the old General Konigſeg, who had commanded againſt the Turks in Hungary, and againſt the French in Italy and Germany. His advice was to direct the ardour of the Duke of Cumberland and of the Prince of Waldeck. This army was reckoned to conſiſt of above fifty-five thouſand fighting men. The King left about eighteen thouſand men before Tournay, which were poſted in a line of communication extending to the field of battle, and ſix thouſand to guard the bridges and their communications upon the Scheld.

The army was under the command of a General in whom the Nation had juſtly placed the greateſt confidence. Count Saxe had already merited his high reputation by his ſkilful retreats in Germany, and by his campaign of 1744. To the practical part he had joined a profound theory, vigilance, and ſecrecy; the art of knowing how to poſtpone a project in good time, and to execute it with rapidity. Preſence of mind, reſources, and foreſight, were talents which he poſſeſſed by the general acknowledgement of all the officers. But then this General, waſting daily by a conſumptive diſorder,

* The French word is *Les Menins*, which was an expreſſion adopted under the reign of Louis XIV. and applied to thoſe Peers of France who particularly attached themſelves to the Dauphin's perſon.—*Tranſlator.*

was haſtening to his grave. He was very ill when he ſet out from Paris for the army. The author of this hiſtory, having met him before his departure, could not forbear aſking him, how he could think of undertaking the campaign in ſuch a ſtate? to which the Marſhal replied, "The queſtion is not about life, but duty *."

The King arriving on the ſixth at Douay, went the next day to Pontachin near the Scheld, and within reach of the trenches of Tournay. From thence he went to reconnoitre the ground which was to be the field of battle. The whole army at ſight of the King and the Dauphin gave loud acclamations of joy. The allies paſſed the tenth and the night of the eleventh in making their final diſpoſitions. The King never ſhewed more gaiety than on the eve of the battle. The converſation ran upon the battles that Kings had been preſent at. The King obſerved, that ſince the battle of Poictiers, no King of France had fought in company with his ſon; that no one had gained a ſignal victory over the Engliſh; and that he hoped to be the firſt. He was awakened the firſt on the day of action. At four o'clock he himſelf called up Count d'Argenſon, Secretary at War, who immediately ſent to Marſhal Saxe to demand his laſt orders. The Marſhal was found in an ozier litter, which ſerved him for a bed, and in which he was carried when his exhauſted ſtrength obliged him to quit his horſe. The King and his ſon had already paſſed a bridge over the Scheld, at Calonne: they went to take their poſt beyond the gallows de Notre Dame, in the wood, a thouſand toiſes from this bridge, and exactly at the entry of the field of battle.

The retinue of the King and Dauphin, which compoſed a numerous ſuite, were followed by a crowd of all ſorts of people whom curioſity had excited, and of which ſome had even mounted on the tops of trees to have a view of the battle.

By caſting an eye upon the maps, which are very common, any one may at firſt ſight ſee the diſpoſition

* An anſwer worthy of the Greeks or Romans. *Tranſlator.*

of

of the two armies. Antoine is diſcoverable very near the Scheld, on the right of the French army, and at nine hundred toiſes from the bridge of Calonne, by which the King and Dauphin had advanced. The village of Fontenoy, beyond Antoine, was almoſt upon the ſame line; a narrow ſtreight, four hundred and fifty toiſes in length, lying between Fontenoy and a little wood called the wood of Barri. This wood and villages were planted with cannon, like an entrenched ground. Marſhal Saxe had eſtabliſhed ſome redoubts between Antoine and Fontenoy: others at the extremity of the wood of Barri fortified this encloſure. The field of battle was only five hundred toiſes in length, from the place where the King was near the village of Fontenoy, quite to the wood of Barri, and was little more than nine hundred toiſes in breadth; ſo that they were to fight in an incloſed ground as at Dettingen, but in a more fortunate hour.

The General of the French army had provided for victory, or a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, furniſhed with cannon, fortified by intrenchments, and defended by ſome battalions, was to ſerve for a retreat to the King and the Dauphin, in caſe of misfortune. The reſt of the army was to have filed off to the other bridges upon the Lower Scheld, beyond Tournay.

All the meaſures were taken which could mutually aſſiſt each other, without any danger of running counter to any of them. The French army ſeemed inacceſſible; for the croſs-fire which came from the redoubts of the wood of Barri and from the village of Fontenoy, prevented all approach. Beſides theſe precautions, they had placed ſix cannon of ſix-pounders each, on this ſide the Scheld, to annoy the troops that might attack the village of Antoine.

At ſix in the morning the two armies began to cannonade each other. Marſhal Noailles was at this time near Fontenoy, and gave an account to Marſhal Saxe of a manœuvre he had performed, in the beginning of the night, to join the village of Fontenoy to the firſt of the three redoubts between Fontenoy and Antoine.

He ſerved him as firſt Aid-de-camp, ſacrificing the jealouſy of command to the ſervice of the cauſe; and, ſetting his own diſtinction at nought, ſubmitted himſelf to a General who was a foreigner and a junior officer. Marſhal Saxe perceived the force of this magnanimity; and never was ſeen ſo ſtrict an union between two perſons, whom the ordinary weakneſs of the human heart might have rendered irreconcileable enemies.

Marſhal Noailles embraced the Duke of Grammont his nephew, and they ſeparated, the one to return to the King, and the other to his poſt, when a cannon-ball killed the Duke of Grammont: he was the firſt victim of the day.

The Engliſh attacked Fontenoy thrice, and the Dutch preſented themſelves twice before Antoine. At their ſecond attack almoſt a whole ſquadron of the latter were cut off by the cannon of Antoine; only fifteen men remained, and the Dutch never rallied afterwards.

The Duke of Cumberland then formed a ſcheme, which ſeemed to ſecure him the ſucceſs of the day. He ordered Major-General Ingoldſby to enter into the wood of Barri, to penetrate to the redoubt of this wood oppoſite Fontenoy, and to take it. Ingoldſby marched with the beſt troops to execute this order. He found in the wood of Barri a battalion of the regiment of a partiſan, who were called *Graſſins*, from the name of him who had formed them. Theſe ſoldiers had advanced into the wood beyond the redoubt, and lay upon the ground. Ingoldſby, thinking they were a conſiderable corps, returned to the Duke, and required ſome cannon. The favourable moment was thus loſt. The Prince was enraged at a diſobedience which diſconcerted his meaſures, and puniſhed it afterwards at London by a council of war called a *Court-martial*.

He determined on the inſtant to paſs between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was ſteep; it was neceſſary to clear a broken hollow way; he was obliged alſo to paſs the fires of Fontenoy and of the redoubt. The enterprize was daring; but he was reduced, at that time, either to quit the field or attempt the paſſage.

The

The Engliſh and Hanoverians advanced with him almoſt without diſordering their ranks, drawing their cannon themſelves through the foot-paths. His Highneſs formed them in three very cloſe lines of four ranks deep, advancing between the batteries which were diſcharged on them into a piece of ground about four hundred toiſes in breadth. Whole ranks fell on the right and left. They were immediately recruited; and the cannon, which they drew up oppoſite Fontenoy, and before the redoubts, oppoſed the French artillery. In this manner they marched fiercely, preceded by ſix pieces of artillery, and having likewiſe ſix others in the middle of their lines.

Oppoſite to them they found four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiſs at their left; the regiment of Courten at their right, thoſe of Aubeterre following behind them; and the King's regiment at ſome diſtance, which covered Fontenoy, extending along a hollow way.

The ground aſcended from the place where the French guards were, to that where the Engliſh were formed.

The French officers directly conſulted among themſelves, and ſaid one to the other, "We muſt take the Engliſh cannon." They mounted rapidly with their grenadiers, but they were much aſtoniſhed to find an army before them. The artillery and muſquetry levelled ſixty to the ground, and the reſt were obliged to fall back into their ranks.

In the mean time the Engliſh advanced; and this line of infantry compoſed of French and Swiſs guards, having likewiſe upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre and a battalion of the King's regiment, approached the enemy. They were about fifty yards diſtance. A regiment of Engliſh guards, thoſe of Campbell and the Royal Scots, were the firſt. Sir James Campbell was their Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Albemarle Major-General, and Mr. Churchill, natural grand-child of the great Duke of Marlborough, their Brigadier. The Engliſh officers ſaluted the French by pulling off their hats. The Count of Chabanne and

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the Duke de Biron, who were advanced, and all the officers of the French guards, returned them the ſalute. Lord Charles Hay, Captain of the Engliſh guards, cried, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire."

The Count d'Anteroche, at that time Lieutenant of the grenadiers, and afterwards Captain, replied, in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire firſt; fire yourſelves." The Engliſh gave them a running fire, that is to ſay, they fired in diviſions, in a manner that one battalion of four ranks deep having fired, another battalion made a diſcharge, and afterwards a third, while the firſt recharged.

The line of French infantry did not fire thus. They conſiſted of a ſingle line of four ranks, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, and not ſupported by any other troops of infantry. Nineteen officers of the guards fell wounded by this ſingle diſcharge: Meſſieurs de Cliſſon, de Langey, de la Peyre, loſt their lives by it; ninety-five ſoldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded. Eleven of the Swiſs officers were wounded; alſo two hundred and nine of their ſoldiers, among which ſixty-four died on the ſpot. Colonel Courten, his Lieutenant-Colonel, four officers, and ſeventy-five ſoldiers were killed; and fourteen officers and two hundred ſoldiers dangerouſly wounded. The firſt rank thus ſwept off, and the three others looking behind them, and ſeeing but one regiment of cavalry at more than three hundred toiſes diſtance, they diſperſed. The Duke of Grammont, their Colonel and firſt Lieutenant-General, who might have rallied them, was killed. Monſ. Luttaux, ſecond Lieutenant-General, did not arrive till after they had given way. The Engliſh advanced ſlowly, as if performing their exerciſe; the Majors with their canes levelling the ſoldiers guns to make them fire low and ſtrait. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was in three diviſions, cloſing by the nature of the ground, became a long and thick column, almoſt impregnable from its maſs, and more ſo by its bravery, and advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. Monſ. Luttaux, firſt General

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of the army, at the news of this danger, came from Fontenoy, where he had juſt been dangerouſly wounded. His Aid-de-camp begged him to get his wound dreſſed: "The King's ſervice (anſwered Monſ. Luttaux) is more "dear to me than life." He advanced with the Duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, which was led on by its Colonel of that name. Luttaux received on his arrival two mortal wounds. The Duke de Biron had a horſe killed under him. The regiment of Aubeterre loſt a great many of its officers and ſoldiers. The Duke de Biron then, with the King's regiment that he commanded, ſtopped the march of the column on the left flank. A detached battalion of Engliſh guards upon this advanced a little towards him, made a furious diſcharge, and retired leiſurely to replace itſelf at the head of the column, which ſtill advanced ſlowly without ever breaking its ranks, repulſing one after another every regiment that preſented itſelf before it.

This corps kept gaining ground, always cloſe and always firm. Marſhal Saxe, ſeeing with calm courage the greatneſs of the danger, ſent word by the Marquis de Meuze to the King, that he conjured him to repaſs the bridge with the Dauphin, and that he would do all in his power to remedy the diſorder. "Oh! I am very "well aſſured that he will perform his duty, replied the "King: but I will remain where I am."

From the moment the French and Swiſs guards were routed, there was nothing but aſtoniſhment and confuſion throughout the French army. Marſhal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the Engliſh column. The Count d'Eſtrees undertook it; but the efforts of this cavalry were of little effect againſt a body of infantry ſo united, ſo diſciplined, and ſo intrepid, whoſe running-fire, conſtantly kept up, neceſſarily diſperſed little ſeparate corps. It is indeed well known that cavalry alone can ſeldom break through a cloſe infantry. Marſhal Saxe was in the midſt of this fire. He was ſo weakened by his diſorder, that he could not bear a breaſt-plate. He wore a ſort of buckler made of ſeveral folds of quilted taffety, which reſted upon the pommel of his ſaddle.

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He threw down his buckler upon this occaſion, and flew to make the ſecond line of the cavalry advance againſt the column.

All the field-officers were in motion. Monſ. de Vaudreuil, Major-General of the army, went from the right to the left. Monſ. de Puiſegur, Meſſrs. de Saint Sauveur, de St. George, and de Meziere, deputy Quarter-Maſters, were all wounded. The Count de Longaunai, Aid-Major-General, was killed. It was in theſe attacks that the Chevalier d'Aché, Lieutenant-General, had his foot ſhattered; after which he came to report the ſituation of affairs to the King, and converſed with him a long time without giving the leaſt ſign of the agonies he ſuſtained, till at laſt he fainted away.

The more the Engliſh column advanced, the deeper it formed, and was in a condition to repair the continual loſſes it ſuffered by ſo many repeated attacks. It marched cloſe over the dead and wounded of both parties, and ſeemed to make one ſingle corps of about fourteen thouſand men.

A great number of the cavalry were thrown into diſorder cloſe to the place where the King was with his ſon. Theſe two Princes were ſeparated by the crouds of thoſe who fled and threw themſelves in between them. During this confuſion, the brigade of the body-guards who were in reſerve advanced of themſelves towards the enemy. The Chevaliers de Suzy and de Saumery were there mortally wounded. Four ſquadrons of the Gendarmerie arrived almoſt at this moment from Douay, and, notwithſtanding the fatigue of a march of ſeven leagues, haſtened towards the enemy. All theſe corps were received like the other with the ſame intrepidity and running fire. The young Count de Chevrier, an Enſign, was killed, and on the very day he had joined his company. The Chevalier de Monaco, ſon to the Duke of Valentinois, was wounded in the leg. Monſ. du Gueſclin received alſo a very dangerous wound. The carbineers gave way, having loſt ſix officers, and had twenty-one wounded.

Marſhal

Marſhal Saxe, though quite exhauſted, kept ſtill on horſeback riding through the ranks in the midſt of the firing. He paſſed under the front of the Engliſh column, to ſee with his own eyes all that paſſed towards the left near the wood of Barri. They made the ſame manœuvre there as on the right; but attempted in vain to break this column.

All the regiments preſented themſelves one after the other, and the Engliſh column facing them on all ſides, placing their cannon properly, and firing by diviſions, kept up a continual fire when they were attacked, and after the attack left off firing, and remained immoveable. Some regiments of infantry came now to oppoſe this column by the ſole orders of their commanders. Marſhal Saxe ſaw one of them, whole ranks of which fell before the enemy, without being thrown into diſorder. He was told it was the regiment of marines commanded by Monſ. de Guerchi: "How can it poſſibly happen," cried he, "that ſuch troops ſhould not be victorious!"

The regiment of Hainault ſuffered equal loſs. Their Colonel was the ſon of the Prince of Craon, Governor of Tuſcany. The father ſerved the Great-Duke; the children, the King of France. This young gentleman, of whom very great hopes were formed, was killed at the head of his regiment, and his Lieutenant-Colonel died of his wounds by his ſide. The regiment of Normandy advanced, and loſt as many officers and ſoldiers as that of Hainault: it was led on by the Lieutenant-Colonel, Monſ. de Solency, whoſe bravery the King particularly noticed on the field of battle, and recompenſed afterwards by making him a Brigadier. Some Iriſh battalions ran to attack the column in flank, and their Colonel, M. Dillon, was killed. Thus no corps, no attack had been found ſufficient to penetrate this column, becauſe nothing was done in concert, and all at once.

Marſhal Saxe re-paſſed the front of the column, which was already advanced above three hundred paces behind the redoubts of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to ſee if Fontenoy ſtill held out. Their bullets were all ſpent,

and

and they returned the fire of the enemy with powder only.

Monſ. du Brocard, Lieutenant-General of the artillery, and many of the officers, were killed. The Marſhal begged Count d'Harcourt, whom he then met, to go and conjure the King to retire; and likewiſe ſent orders to Count de la Mark, who guarded Antoine, to repair to him with the regiment of Piedmont, the battle appearing to be loſt without recovery. They collected together the cannon from all parts of the country, and were on the point of taking thoſe from Fontenoy, although the bullets were arrived. The intention of Marſhal Saxe was to make, if poſſible, a laſt effort againſt the Engliſh column better directed and more general than the former.

This body of infantry was greatly weakened, notwithſtanding its depth appeared ſtill the ſame. They were even aſtoniſhed to find themſelves in the midſt of the French without any cavalry: they ſeemed to remain immoveable, and no longer under orders; but they kept up a good face, and appeared to be maſters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had paſſed between the redoubts which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine, if they had given proper aſſiſtance to the Engliſh, no reſource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor probably for the King and the Dauphin. The ſucceſs of a laſt attack was uncertain. Marſhal Saxe, who ſaw that victory or an entire defeat depended upon this final aſſault, endeavoured to provide for a ſure retreat. He ſent a ſecond order to the Count de la Mark to evacuate Antoine, and to advance to the bridge of Calonne to cover that retréat in caſe of a total defeat *.

* Thoſe peaceful citizens who at their happy leiſure read the ancient accounts of the battles of Arbela, of Zama, of Cannæ, and of Pharſalia, will ſcarcely comprehend the nature of modern battles. In thoſe times the combatants cloſed. Arrows were only the prelude; the conteſt was, who ſhould penetrate into the oppoſite ranks: ſtrength of body, addreſs, and alertneſs, were every thing. They intermingled, and a battle conſiſted of a multitude of ſingle combats; in which there was leſs noiſe, but more ſlaughter. The manner of fighting now is as different as that of fortifying and of attacking towns.——*Voltaire.*

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He ſent a third order to the Count (ſince Duke) de Lorges, rendering him reſponſible for the execution of it. The Count de Lorges obeyed with regret. The ſucceſs of the day was deſpaired of at this time.

A very tumultuous council of war was held in the preſence of the King; and he was entreated, on the advice of the General, and in the name of all France, not to expoſe himſelf any longer.

The Duke de Richelieu, Lieutenant-General, and who ſerved as an Aid-de-camp to the King, arrived at this inſtant. He had juſt been reconnoitring the column near Fontenoy. Having alſo rode up and down on all ſides without being wounded, he preſented himſelf, out of breath, ſword-in-hand, and covered with duſt. "What "news do you bring," ſaid the Marſhal? "What is your "opinion?" "My news, replied the Duke of Richelieu, is, "that victory is in our power; and my opinion is, "that we ſhould order four pieces of cannon in an in- "ſtant to be pointed againſt the front of the column; "and that while the artillery makes it give way, the "King's houſhold and the other troops ſhould ſurround "it: we muſt fall upon it like foragers." The King was the firſt who approved of this idea.

Twenty perſons were detached. The Duke de Péquigni (called afterwards the Duke de Chaulnes) went to point the four pieces, which were placed directly oppoſite to the Engliſh column. The Duke de Richelieu rode full ſpeed, in the King's name, to order his houſhold-troops to march. He gave this order to Monſ. de Monteſſon who commanded them. The Prince of Soubiſe reaſſembled his genſdarmes; the Duke of Chaulnes his light-horſe: all theſe formed themſelves, and marched. Four ſquadrons of the genſdarmes advanced on the right of the King's houſhold; the horſe-grenadiers were at the head, under Monſ. de Grille, their Captain; the Mouſquetaires, commanded by Monſ. de Jumillac, quickly joined them.

In this important moment, Count d'Eu and the Duke of Biron at the right ſaw with regret the troops at Antoine quit their poſt, according to the poſitive order

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of Marſhal Saxe. " I will be anſwerable for your diſ-
" obedience, ſaid the Duke of Biron to them: I am ſure
" the King will approve of it, eſpecially in an inſtant
" when the face of affairs is going to change. I am po-
" ſitive that Marſhal Saxe will think well of it." The Marſhal arriving at the place, and being informed of the King's reſolution, and the willingneſs of the troops, readily yielded to the meaſure: he could change his opinion when it was needful. He made the regiment of Piedmont re-enter Antoine, and, in ſpite of his weakneſs, conveyed himſelf rapidly from the right to the left towards the Iriſh brigades, recommending to all the troops as he paſſed them to make no more falſe fires, but to act in concert.

The Duke of Biron, Count d'Eſtrées, the Marquis de Croiſſy, and Count de Lowendhal, Lieutenant-Generals, directed this new attack. Five ſquadrons of Penthiévre followed Monſ. de Croiſſy and his ſons. The regiments of Chabrillant, de Brancas, de Brionne, Aubeterre, and Courten, haſtened thither, led on by their Colonels. The regiment of Normandy, and the carbineers, at laſt penetrated through the firſt ranks of the column, and revenged the death of their comrades ſlain in their firſt attack. The Iriſh ſeconded them. The column was attacked at once in the front and both the flanks.

In ſeven or eight minutes this formidable corps was opened on all ſides; General Ponſonby *, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, five Colonels, five Captains of the guards, and a great number of officers were killed. The Engliſh rallied, but were obliged to retire; and quitted the field of battle without tumult, without confuſion, and were overcome with honour.

* M. Voltaire calls him *Poſomby*, and makes him brother to the Earl of Albemarle; but he was brother to the late Earl of Beſborough, whoſe name was *Ponſonby*: the name of the Albemarle family is *Keppel*. Two ſuch miſtakes in one ſhort paſſage, betray moſt inexcuſable careleſſneſs in any perſon who pretends to write Hiſtory; eſpecially when the looking into any book of the Engliſh Peerage, or even a Court Regiſter, might have ſet him right. *Tranſlator.*

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The King of France went from regiment to regiment. "The cries of Victory!" and "Long live the King!" the hats thrown up in the air; the ſtandards and colours pierced with balls; the reciprocal felicitations of the officers, who embraced each other; formed a ſcene of tumultuous joy, which every one partook of. The King alone remained tranquil, teſtifying his ſatisfaction, and making his acknowledgements to all the general-officers, and to the commanders of every corps; ordering great care to be taken of the wounded, and to treat his enemies as his own ſubjects.

Marſhal Saxe in the midſt of this triumph went to the King. He found ſtrength enough to embrace his knees, and to ſay theſe words: "Sire, I have lived long "enough! I have not wiſhed to ſurvive this day but to "ſee your Majeſty victorious. You ſee, added he, on "what all battles depend." The King lifted him up, and embraced him tenderly.

To the Duke of Richelieu he ſaid, "I ſhall never for-"get the important ſervices that you have done me:" he ſaid the ſame to the Duke de Biron. Marſhal Saxe then ſaid to the King, "Sire, I muſt confeſs I reproach "myſelf for one fault. I ſhould have placed another re-"doubt between the wood of Barri and Fontenoy; but "I could not ſuppoſe that there were Generals hardy "enough to have attempted a paſſage at that place."

The allies loſt nine thouſand men, among whom there were about two thouſand priſoners. They took ſcarcely any from the French.

By the exact account given to the Major-General of the French infantry, they found only ſixteen hundred and eighty-one ſoldiers or ſerjeants of the infantry killed on the ſpot, and three thouſand two hundred and eighty-two wounded. Among the officers, only fifty-three were found dead upon the field of battle, and three hundred and twenty-three dangerouſly wounded. The cavalry loſt about eighteen hundred men.

Since the commencement of war, never was ſo much care taken to alleviate the evils which ariſe from this infliction. Hoſpitals were prepared in all the neighbour-

ing towns, but principally at Liſle: even the churches were applied to a uſe ſo worthy of them. Not only no neceſſary aſſiſtance, but even no conveniences were wanting, either for the French or their wounded priſoners. The zeal of the citizens even went too far: they never ceaſed bringing to both parties their moſt delicate proviſions from all quarters, till the phyſicians of the hoſpitals were obliged to put a check to this dangerous exceſs of humanity. In a word, the hoſpitals were ſo well ſerved, that almoſt all the officers choſe rather to be waited on there, than at private houſes; a circumſtance which had never been known before.

We have entered into the particular detail of the battle of Fontenoy alone. Its importance, and the danger of the King and the Dauphin, required it. This action decided the fortune of the war, laid the foundation of the conqueſt of the Low Countries, and ſerved as a balance to all the former unfortunate events. What farther renders this battle for ever memorable, is, that it was gained when the General, exhauſted and almoſt expiring, could act no longer. Marſhal Saxe made the diſpoſition, and the French officers carried the victory *.

* We are obliged to take notice, that in a Hiſtory of this war, full as large as it is partial, publiſhed in London in four volumes, it is aſſerted, that the French took no care of their wounded priſoners; and likewiſe, that the Duke of Cumberland ſent to the King of France a cheſt of chewed balls and bits of glaſs which they found in the wounds of the Engliſh.

The authors of theſe puerile relations certainly think that chewed bullets are a poiſon. It is an ancient prejudice, as weakly founded as that of the white powder. It is ſaid in this Hiſtory, that the French loſt nineteen thouſand men in the battle; that their King was not there; that he did not paſs the bridge of Calonne, but remained always behind the Scheld. In ſhort, it is ſaid that the Parliament of Paris iſſued an arret, which condemned to priſon, to baniſhment, and to the puniſhment of whipping, all who ſhould publiſh any accounts of this battle. We know well enough that ſuch extravagant impoſtures are not worthy of being refuted. But as there has been found in England a man ſo totally deprived of good ſenſe and knowledge, to write ſuch ſingular abſurdities as this hiſtory abounds with, there may alſo be found readers capable of believing them; it is but juſt therefore that we prevent their credulity. *Voltaire.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Conſequences of the Battle of Fontenoy.

WHAT is as remarkable as this victory, is, that the firſt care of the King of France was to write the ſame day to the Abbé de la Ville, his Miniſter at the Hague, ſignifying that he deſired to reap no other fruit from his conqueſts but the pacification of Europe, and that he was ready to ſend his Plenipotentiaries to a Congreſs. The States-General were ſurpriſed, and greatly ſuſpected the ſincerity of the King's offer; and what aſtoniſhed them more was, that the offer was eluded by the Engliſh and the Queen of Hungary. This Queen, who was at once engaged in a war in Sileſia againſt the King of Pruſſia; in Italy againſt the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans; and on the Maine againſt the French army; might have been ſuppoſed inclined to have made overtures of peace herſelf, which ſhe ſeemed ſo much to ſtand in need of: but the Engliſh Court, which governed its allies, would not conſent to it. Revenge and prejudices influence Courts as well as individuals.

In the mean time, the King ſent M. de la Tour, an Aid-Major of the army, and a very intelligent officer, to carry the news of the victory to the King of Pruſſia, who met the King at the bottom of Lower Sileſia, on the ſide of Ratiſbon, in the defile of a mountain, near a village called Friedberg*. There he ſaw this Monarch obtain a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians. He replied to his ally the King of France: "I have paid at Friedberg "*the bill of exchange* you drew on me from Fontenoy."

The King of France on his ſide had all the advantages the victory of Fontenoy could give. The town and citadel of Tournay ſurrendered in a few days after the battle. Marſhal Saxe had ſecretly concerted with the King the taking of Ghent, the capital of Auſtrian Flan-

* June 4, 1745.

ders; a town more large than populous, though rich and flouriſhing from the remains of its ancient ſplendor.

One of the military operations which reflected the greateſt honour on the Marquis de Louvois in the war of 1689, was the ſiege of Ghent. He had determined upon this ſiege, becauſe it was the enemy's magazine. Louis XV. had juſt the ſame reaſon to make himſelf maſter of it. According to the fineſſe of war, every motion which could deceive the enemy's army, now retired towards Bruſſels, was made. Some meaſures were taken alſo, that the Marquis du Chaila on one ſide, and the Count de Lowendhal on the other, ſhould appear before Ghent at the ſame inſtant. The garriſon conſiſted at that time of only ſix hundred men. The inhabitants were enemies to the French, though at all times averſe to the Auſtrian government; but very different, in point of bravery, from what they were when they compoſed an army themſelves. Theſe two ſecret marches were made according to the General's direction, when the enterprize was on the point of miſcarrying by one of thoſe events ſo common in war.

The Engliſh, although conquered at Fontenoy, were neither diſperſed nor diſcouraged. They ſaw from the environs of Bruſſels, where they were poſted, the evident danger with which Ghent was threatened; they therefore ordered a body of ſix thouſand men to march to the defence of this city. This corps advanced towards Ghent, upon the cauſeway of Aloſt, preciſely at the time that Monſ. du Chaila was only at a league diſtance upon the ſame cauſeway, marching with three brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry, compoſed of the regiments of Normandy, Crillon and Laval, twenty pieces of cannon, and a number of floating bridges. The artillery was already in the front, and beyond that was Monſ. Graſſin, with a party of his light troops which he had raiſed himſelf. It was night and every thing quiet, when the ſix thouſand Engliſh arrived and attacked the *Graſſins*, who had but juſt time to ſhelter themſelves in a farm-houſe, near the abbey of Mêle, from whence this battle has taken its name. The Engliſh

gliſh being informed that the French were upon the cauſeway, at a diſtance from their artillery, which was advanced, guarded only by fifty men, marched up and took it. All ſeemed loſt. The Marquis de Crillon, who was already advanced within three hundred paces of them, ſaw the Engliſh become maſters of the cannon, which they turned againſt him, and were going to diſcharge*. He very calmly formed his determination in an inſtant, and loſt not a moment to execute it. He puſhed on with his regiment towards the enemy on one ſide, while the young Marquis of Laval advanced with another battalion. They retook the cannon, and maintained their ground. During the time that the Marquis de Crillon and de Laval thus checked the Engliſh, a ſingle company of Normandy, which were near the abbey, defended themſelves againſt them.

Two battalions of Normandy arrived in haſte. The young Count of Perigord commanded them. He was ſon to the Marquis of Talleirand, (of a Houſe which had been ſovereign) unfortunately ſlain before Tournay, and had juſt obtained, at ſeventeen years of age, this Norman regiment, which his father had commanded before him. He advanced the firſt at the head of a company of grenadiers. The Engliſh battalion attacked by him threw down their arms.

Meſſrs. du Chaila and de Souvré appeared very ſoon after upon this cauſeway with the cavalry. The Engliſh were ſurrounded on all ſides, but ſtill defended themſelves. The Marquis de Graville was wounded; but at length they were entirely routed.

M d'Azincour, a Norman Captain, with only forty men, made the Lieutenant-Colonel of Rich's regiment priſoner, with eight Captains, and two hundred and eighty ſoldiers, who laid down their arms, and ſurrendered to him. Nothing could equal their ſurprize, when they ſaw that they had ſurrendered to forty Frenchmen only. M. d'Azincour conducted his priſoners to M. de Graville, holding the point of his ſword to the Engliſh Lieutenant-Colonel's breaſt, and threatened to kill him, if his ſoldiers made the leaſt reſiſtance.

* July 9, 1745.

Another Norman Captain, M. de Montalambert, with fifty of his ſoldiers took an hundred and fifty Engliſh. Three ſquadrons of cavalry were put to flight, near the end of the action, by a number nearly equal to the former, commanded by M. de Saint Sauveur, Captain of the King's regiment of cavalry: in ſhort, the extraordinary ſucceſs of this battle reflected, perhaps, the greateſt honour on the French, of any in all this campaign, and ſtruck their enemies with the greateſt conſternation. What ſtill more characteriſes this day, is, that this battle, as well as that of Fontenoy, was gained by the preſence of mind and courage of the French officers.

They arrived before Ghent juſt at the time fixed by Marſhal Saxe. They entered the town ſword-in hand without plundering it, and the garriſon with the citadel were taken priſoners.

One of the extraordinary advantages reaped from the poſſeſſion of this town was, the gaining of an immenſe magazine of ammunition, proviſions, forage, arms, and cloaths, which the allies had depoſited in Ghent. This was a ſmall indemnification for the expences of the war, which had been before as unfortunate as it was now glorious under the eye of the King.

At the ſame time the citadel of Ghent was taken, Oudenarde was alſo inveſted *; and the Marquis de Souvré made himſelf maſter of Bruges, the ſame day that M. de Lowendhal opened the trenches before Oudenarde, which ſurrendered after three days.

Scarcely was the King of France maſter of one town, than he cauſed two to be beſieged at the ſame time. The Duke d'Harcourt took Dendermonde, two days after opening the trenches, notwithſtanding the opening of the ſluices, which made a general inundation; and at the ſame time Count de Lowendhal laid ſiege to Oſtend.

This ſiege was reckoned the moſt difficult. It was remembered that Oſtend ſuſtained a ſiege of three years and three months, at the beginning of the laſt century. By a compariſon of the plan of the fortifications of this place with thoſe exiſting when it was taken by Spinola, it appeared that Spinola ought to have taken it in fifteen

* July 29, 1745.

teen days, and M. de Lowendhal to have been before it three years, the fortifications were now ſo much ſuperior. M. de Chanclos, Lieutenant-General of the Auſtrian army, defended it with a garriſon of four thouſand men, one-half of which were Engliſh; but the terror and diſmay were ſo great, that the Governor capitulated as ſoon as the Marquis d'Hérouville, a man worthy of being at the head of the engineers, and equally uſeful as a good citizen and an officer, had taken the covered-way on the ſide of the Downs.

An Engliſh fleet which brought ſuccours to the town, and cannonaded the beſiegers *, came there only to be witneſſes of its being taken. This loſs threw the Engliſh Court and the United Provinces into great conſternation.

Nieuport was the only place remaining to complete the conqueſt of all the Province of Flanders, properly ſo called; and the King ordered it to be beſieged.

In this ſituation of affairs, the Engliſh Miniſtry began to reflect that the French had the ſuperiority of priſoners. The detaining Marſhal Belleiſle and his brother had totally ſuſpended the cartel. Theſe two Generals had been taken priſoners, in violation of the law of Nations, and they ſet them at liberty without ranſom. In effect, they could have no pretence to demand any, after having declared them ſtate-priſoners; and it was the intereſt of England to get the cartel reſtored.

In the mean time the King departed for Paris, where he arrived the ſeventh of September, 1745. No addition could be made to the reception that had been given him the preceding year. The ſame feſtivals and rejoicings took place; but they had beſides to celebrate the victories of Fontenoy and of Mêle, and the conqueſt of the Province of Flanders.

* Aug. 25, 1745.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of Germany. Francis of Lorrain, Grand-Duke of Tuſcany, elected Emperor. The Armies of Auſtria and Saxony defeated by Frederic III. King of Pruſſia. The Taking of Dreſden.

THE ſucceſs of Louis XV. increaſed daily in the Low-Countries. The ſuperiority of his armies, the facility of the ſervice in every reſpect, the diſperſion and diſcouragement of the allies, their diſunion, and above all, the capacity of Marſhal Saxe, who, having recovered his health, acted with more activity than ever; all theſe circumſtances combined formed a chain of uninterrupted ſucceſs which has no example, except the conqueſts of Louis XIV. Every thing was favourable alſo in Italy for Don Philip. An aſtoniſhing revolution in England at this time endangered the throne of George II. as will be ſeen hereafter; but the Queen of Hungary enjoyed another glory and another advantage, which coſt no blood, and accompliſhed her chief and moſt deſirable object. She never loſt hopes of placing the Imperial crown upon the head of her huſband, even in the life time of Charles VII.; and after the death of this Emperor, ſhe believed herſelf ſure of it, notwithſtanding the King of Pruſſia was at war with her, that the Elector-Palatine refuſed his conſent, and a French army which lay near Francfort might obſtruct the election. This was the army commanded at firſt by Marſhal Maillebois, and which, ſince the beginning of May, 1745, had been under the orders of the Prince de Conti: but twenty thouſand men had been drawn from it to increaſe the army at Fontenoy. The Prince could not prevent the junction of all the troops which the Queen of Hungary had in this part of Germany, and which came and covered Frankfort, where the election was made as quietly as in time of peace.

Thus

Thus France failed in the great object of the war, which was to deprive the Houſe of Auſtria of the Imperial throne. The election was made September 13, 1745. The King of Pruſſia by his Ambaſſadors declared the election to be null and void. The Elector-Palatine, whoſe countries had been ravaged by the Auſtrian armies, entered a proteſt to the ſame purport The Electoral Ambaſſadors of theſe two Princes retired from Frankfort; but this made no alteration in the form of the election, becauſe it is ſaid in the Golden Bull, "That "if the Electors, or their Ambaſſadors, retire from the "place of election before the King of the Romans the "future Emperor is elected, they ſhall be deprived "of their right of ſuffrage for that time, as being judged "to have abandoned it."

The Queen of Hungary (now Empreſs) came to Frankfort to enjoy her triumph and the coronation of her huſband. She ſaw from a balcony the ceremony of the entry, and was the firſt who cried, "Long live the Emperor!" and all the people anſwered with acclamations of joy and affection. This was the happieſt day of her life. Afterwards* ſhe went to ſee her army ranged in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number of ſixty thouſand men. The Emperor her ſpouſe received her ſword-in-hand at the head of the army. She paſſed between the lines, ſaluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be diſtributed to every ſoldier.

It was the fate of this Princeſs, and of the affairs that diſturbed her reign, that the moſt lucky events were balanced on all ſides by equal diſgraces. The Emperor Charles VII. loſt Bavaria at the time they were crowning him Emperor; and the Queen of Hungary loſt a battle while ſhe was preparing the coronation of her huſband Francis I. The King of Pruſſia was again victor at Sore, near the ſource of the Elbe †.

There are times when a Nation conſtantly preſerves its ſuperiority. This has been evinced in the Swedes, under Charles XII.; in the Engliſh, under the Duke of Marlborough; in the French in Flanders, under Louis XV. and Marſhal Saxe; and in the Pruſſians, under Frederic

* October 25, 1745. † October 1, 1745.

Frederick III. The Empreſs loſt Flanders, and had much to fear from the King of Pruſſia in Germany, at the time that ſhe had ſeated her huſband on the throne of her father.

At this very time, when the King of France, conqueror in Italy and the Low-Countries, was conſtantly propoſing peace, the King of Pruſſia, victorious on his ſide, demanded alſo the mediation of Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia. Conquerors were never yet known to make ſo many overtures; and this may appear aſtoniſhing, but at preſent it is dangerous to be too victorious. All the Powers of Europe ſooner or later will take arms when there is any one in motion: nothing is to be ſeen but leagues, and counter-leagues ſupported by numerous armies. There is now great difficulty through the circumſtances of the times to keep a conquered Province.

In the midſt of theſe great perplexities, an unprecedented offer of a mediation was received which could not be expected: this was from the Grand Turk. His Prime Miniſter wrote to all the Chriſtian Courts which were at war, and exhorted them to ceaſe the effuſion of human blood, and offered them the mediation of his maſter *. Such an offer had no conſequences; but at leaſt it ought to have ſerved to make ſo many Chriſtian Powers recollect themſelves, who, having begun a war through intereſt, had continued it through obſtinacy, and would finiſh it only through neceſſity. In reality, this mediation of the Sultan of the Turks was offered in return for the peace which the King of France had accompliſhed between the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI. and the Ottoman Porte, in 1739.

The King of Pruſſia took other meaſures to bring about the peace, and to preſerve Sileſia. His troops completely beat the Auſtrians and Saxons at the gates of Dreſden. It was the famous old Prince of Anhalt who gained this deciſive victory †. He had been a warrior fifty years,

* This was no reproach to *Chriſtianity*, though a ſevere reproof to the Powers of Chriſtendom, too laxly ſtiled *Chriſtian* Princes. *Tranſlator.*

† December 15, 1746.

and was the firſt who entered the lines of the French army at Turin, in 1707. For conducting the infantry, he was eſteemed the moſt experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the laſt that filled up the meaſure of his military glory; the only one he had ever enjoyed: for fighting was his ſole province.

The King of Pruſſia, ſkilled in more than one kind of war, ſhut up the town of Dreſden on all ſides. He entered it at the head of ten battalions and ten ſquadrons; diſarmed three regiments of the militia which compoſed the garriſon; went to the palace, where he viſited the two Princes and the three Princeſſes the children of the King of Poland, who reſided in it; embraced them, and ſhewed them all the marks of tenderneſs and regard which might be expected from the moſt polite man of his age. He ordered the ſhops and warehouſes which had been ſhut up to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign Miniſters; had an Italian opera played; in fine, it was ſcarcely perceptible that the town was in the power of the conqueror; and the taking of Dreſden was ſignalized only by the entertainments that he gave there.

But what was ſtill more extraordinary, he entered Dreſden only on the 18th of December, 1746, and made a peace there with Auſtria and Saxony on the 25th of the ſame month, leaving all the weight of the war upon the King of France.

Maria-Thereſa in this ſecond peace renounced with reluctance her pretenſions to Sileſia; and Frederick gave her no other advantage than the acknowledgement of Francis I. for Emperor. The Elector-Palatine, as a contracting party in the treaty, acknowledged the ſame; and it coſt the King of Poland Elector of Saxony only one million of crowns, German money, which he was to give to the conqueror, with intereſt to the day of payment.

The King of Pruſſia returned to Berlin to enjoy peace, the fruit of his victory. He was received under triumphal arches, the people ſtrewing branches of fir-trees before him,

for

for want of better, and crying, "Long live Frederick "the Great!"

This Prince, ſucceſsful both in his wars and in his treaties, now applied himſelf ſolely to perfecting the laws, and the encouragement of arts in his dominions. He paſſed all of a ſudden from the tumults of war to a philoſophical retirement. He cloſely applied himſelf to poetry, to eloquence, and hiſtory; all which were equally parts of his character. In this reſpect he is more famous than Charles XII. He never conſidered him as a great man, becauſe he was only an hero. We ſhall not enter here into any detail of the victories of the King of Pruſſia. He has written them himſelf. Cæſar alone could write his own Commentaries.

The King of France, deprived a ſecond time of this important ſuccour, nevertheleſs ſtill continued his conqueſts. The object of the war now on the part of France was, to force the Queen of Hungary, by her loſſes in Flanders, to cede what ſhe diſputed in Italy, and to oblige the States-General at leaſt to return again to that neutrality from which they had departed.

The Queen of Hungary wanted to make retaliation upon France for the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained from the King of Pruſſia. This project, acknowledged afterwards by the Court of England to be impracticable, was then approved of, and embraced accordingly; for there are ſeaſons when all the world are blind. The Empire given to Francis I. encouraged them to think that the Circles would determine to take up arms againſt France; and the Court of Vienna ſpared no pains to engage them in ſuch a meaſure.

The Empire conſtantly remained neuter, as all Italy had done at the beginning of this chaos of war; but the hearts of the Germans were with Maria-Thereſa.

CHAP.

CHAP XVIII.

Continuation of the Conqueſt of the Auſtrian Low-Countries. Battle of Liege.

THE King of France being ſet out for Paris after the taking of Oſtend, was informed upon the road that Nieuport had ſurrendered, and that the garriſon were made priſoners of war *. Soon after, the Count de Clermont Gallerande took the town of Aeth †. Marſhal Saxe inveſted Bruſſels in the beginning of the winter ‡. This city it is well known is the capital of Brabant, and the reſidence of the Governors of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The Count de Caunitz commanded in this city as Prime-Miniſter, acting in the room of Prince Charles, Governor-General of the Low-Countries. The Count de Lanoy, Lieutenant-General of the armies, was Governor of the garriſon. General Vanderduin, on the part of the Dutch, commanded eighteen battalions and ſeven ſquadrons of their forces. There were no Auſtrian troops, except one hundred and fifty dragoons, and as many huſſars. The Empreſs-Queen confided in the Engliſh and Dutch for the defence of theſe countries; and they always bore the burden of the war in Flanders. Field-Marſhal Los Rios; the two Princes of Ligne, the one a General of infantry, and the other of cavalry; General Chanclos, who had ſurrendered Oſtend; five Auſtrian Lieutenant-Generals, with a crowd of nobility, were beſieged in this capital, where the Queen of Hungary had in effect a great many more officers than ſoldiers.

The ſhattered remains of the Emperor's army were retired towards Mechlin, under the Prince of Waldeck, and could not oppoſe the ſiege, Marſhal Saxe having ſuddenly ordered his army to march in four columns by four different routes. In this ſiege no perſon of diſtinction was loſt, except the Chevalier d'Aubeterre, Colonel of

* Spt. 5, 1745. † Oct. 8, 1745. ‡ Jan. 29, 1746.

of the regiment of marines. The garriſon, with all the general-officers, were made priſoners*. They might have captured the Prime-Miniſter, and had a greater right to take him than the Hanoverians had to ſeize Marſhal Belleiſle. The Reſident of the States-General was alſo in their power; but they not only left them both at full liberty, but took particular care of their effects and attendants, and furniſhed them with eſcorts. They likewiſe reſtored to Prince Charles all his equipages and domeſtics which were found in the town, and alſo depoſited in the magazines all the arms of the military, in readineſs for an exchange.

The King, who had ſo many advantages over the Hollanders, and about thirty thouſand of their troops priſoners of war, in a manner governed this Republic. The States-General found themſelves in a perplexed ſituation: the ſtorm was approaching them, and they were ſenſible of their weakneſs. The Magiſtracy was deſirous of peace; but the Engliſh party, who had already taken every poſſible meaſure that could place a Stadtholder at the head of this Republic, being ſeconded by the people, inſiſted upon a continuation of the war. The States thus divided acted without principle, and their conduct demonſtrated their confuſion.

The general panic and diviſion redoubled in the United Provinces when they were informed, at the opening of the campaign, that the King was marching in perſon towards Antwerp, at the head of one hundred and twenty battalions and one hundred and ninety ſquadrons. Formerly, when the Republic of Holland eſtabliſhed itſelf by force of arms, ſhe deſtroyed all the grandeur of Antwerp, the greateſt commercial city of Europe, prohibited the navigation of the Scheld, and afterwards aggravated its fallen ſtate, eſpecially ſince the alliance of the States-General with the Houſe of Auſtria. Neither the Emperor Leopold, Charles VI. nor the Empreſs-Queen, his daughter, ever had any other veſſel upon the Scheld but a cuſtom-houſe barge to collect the duties of import and export. But notwithſtanding the States-General had humbled Antwerp to this degree, and ruined its merchants, yet the Hol-

* February 21, 1746.

Hollanders regarded it as a rampart to their country. This rampart was ſoon broken down *.

The Prince of Conti had under his command a ſeparate body of the army, with which he inveſted Mons †, the capital of Auſtrian Hainault; twelve battalions which defended it ſerving to encreaſe the number of priſoners of war, half of whom were Dutch. The Auſtrians never loſt ſo many places, nor the Dutch ſo many ſoldiers. St. Guillain ſhared the ſame fate ‡; and Charleroy ſoon followed §: the Lower Town was taken by aſſault, the trenches being opened only two days. The Marquis (afterwards Marſhal) de la Fare took poſſeſſion of Charleroy upon the ſame conditions as were impoſed on the other towns that had made any reſiſtance; that is, the garriſon were made priſoners. The grand project was to go to Maeſtricht, from whence they could eaſily command the United Provinces; but to leave nothing behind in Flanders, it was neceſſary to lay ſiege to the important town of Namur. Prince Charles, who at that time commanded the army, made every poſſible effort to prevent the ſiege, but in vain.

Namur is ſituated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuſe. The citadel is built upon a ſtrep rock; and twelve other forts built upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, ſeem to render it inacceſſible to any attack: it is one of the barrier towns. The Prince de Gavres was Governor for the Empreſs Queen; but the Dutch, who were in garriſon, neither paid him obedience nor reſpect. The environs of this town are celebrated by the marches and encampments of Marſhal de Luxemburg, Marſhal de Boufflers, and King William; and are alſo not leſs famous for the manœuvres of Marſhal Saxe. He forced Prince Charles to depart the town, and leave him at liberty to beſiege it ‖.

The Prince de Clermont had the charge of the ſiege of Namur, which was in effect to take twelve places. He attacked ſeveral of the forts at once, and they were all carried. Monſ. Brulart, Aid-Major-General, placed the pioneers behind the grenadiers in a work which they had taken, and promiſed them double pay if they would execute their buſineſs with diligence; but they did it with

* March 15. † July 10. ‡ July 24. § Aug. 2. Sept. 5.

with more ſpeed than was expected, and refuſed any advanced pay.

I cannot enter into a minute account of the remarkable actions which paſſed at this and all the other ſieges. There are few events of war wherein the officers and ſoldiers do not perform ſuch ſurpriſing acts of valour, as even aſtoniſh thoſe who are witneſſes of them, and which afterwards are buried for ever in oblivion. If a General, a Prince, or a Monarch, had performed one of theſe actions, they would have been conſecrated to poſterity; but their multitude ſoon renders them forgotten; and in all kinds of tranſactions the principal only remain in the memory of mankind. However, Fort Ballard, taken in the open day by three officers only, muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. M. de Launai, Aid-Major, M. d'Aumere, Captain in the regiment of Champagne, and M. de Clamouze, a young Portugueze of the ſame regiment, leaping alone into the trenches, made the garriſon lay down their arms.

The trenches were opened before Namur on the 10th of September, and the town capitulated on the 19th, 1746. By the articles of capitulation, the garriſon, conſiſting of twelve battalions, ten of which were Dutch, were obliged to retire into the citadel and ſome other caſtles; and at the end of eleven days freſh articles were drawn, in which they were all made priſoners of war.

After the taking of Namur, it remained either to diſperſe or beat the allied army, which was encamped at that time on this ſide the Meuſe, having Maeſtricht on the right, and Liege on the left. The two armies obſerved each other's motions, and had many ſkirmiſhes for ſeveral days; the Jar dividing them.

Marſhal Saxe, intending to come to an engagement, marched towards the enemy on the 11th of October, at break of day, in ten columns. The two armies were ſeen from the ſuburbs of Liege, as from an amphitheatre. The French were an hundred and twenty thouſand ſtrong, and the allies only eighty thouſand. The enemy extended along the Meuſe from Liege to Viſet, behind five fortified villages. The preſent method of attack-

attacking an army is the ſame as that of a town, battering it with cannon. The allies had to fear, that after being driven from theſe villages they could not paſs the river. Thus they riſqued their total deſtruction, which was what Marſhal Saxe wiſhed for.

The only general-officer that the French loſt in this engagement was the Marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the immortal Archbiſhop of Cambray. He was brought up under the care of his uncle, and poſſeſſed all his virtues, though in a character quite different. Twenty years embaſſy to Holland had not extinguiſhed a military ardour and a noble daring, which coſt him his life. Having been wounded in the foot forty years before, and ſcarcely able to walk, he ruſhed upon the intrenchments of the enemy on horſeback. He ſought death, and found it. His extraordinary devotion augmented his intrepidity. He thought that the moſt pleaſing action in the ſight of God was to die for his Sovereign. It muſt be acknowledged, that an army compoſed of men who ſhould embrace this opinion, would be invincible. The French had but few perſons of diſtinction wounded in this battle. The ſon of Count de Segur received a ball in his breaſt, which was immediately extracted from the ſpinal bone; and he ſurvived by an operation more ſevere than the wound itſelf. The Marquis de Lujac had his jaw-bone broke, his tongue cut, and both his cheeks pierced by a muſquet-ſhot. The Marquis de Laval, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Mêle, the Prince of Monaco, the Marquis de Vaubecour, and the Count de Barleroy, were dangerouſly wounded.

This battle was only blood ſpilt in vain, and one calamity more; for both parties neither gained nor loſt ground, and each took their former quarters. The beaten army advanced even cloſe to Tongres. The victorious one paſſed by way of Louvain into the midſt of its conqueſts, and retired to enjoy the ſweets of a repoſe which the ſeaſon commonly requires in theſe countries, to wait the return of the ſpring, in order to renew thoſe cruelties and misfortunes which the winter only ſuſpended.

CHAP. XIX.

Succeſs of the Infant Don Philip and Marſhal Mailleboís, followed by great Diſaſters.

IN Italy, and towards the Alps, the face of affairs was very different, and an extraordinary ſcene paſſed there at this time. The moſt ſad reverſe of fortune had ſucceeded to the moſt rapid ſucceſs. The Houſe of France loſt more in Italy than it had gained in Flanders; and theſe loſſes ſeemed to be more irreparable than their ſucceſs in Flanders appeared uſeful, becauſe the eſtabliſhment of Don Philip was then the true object of the war. If they were conquered in Italy, they had no reſource left for this eſtabliſhment; and it was in vain to have been victorious in Flanders; for they were ſenſible that ſooner or later they muſt give up their conqueſts, and that they were only as a pledge or a tranſient ſurety to indemnify them for the loſſes they might ſuſtain elſewhere. The Circles of Germany remained neuter, and every thing was in tranquility upon the borders of the Rhine. In effect, Spain was become the principal party in the war. By ſea and by land the war was carried on ſolely for her; and ſhe never loſt ſight of Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe. Of ſo many dominions diſputed with the heireſs of the Houſe of Auſtria, there remained only theſe Provinces of Italy to which any claims could be laid.

Since the foundation of the monarchy, this war was the only one in which France was barely an auxiliary. She was no more in the cauſe of the Emperor Charles VII. to the time of his death, and in that of the Infant Don Philip till the peace.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1745 in Italy, appearances were as favourable for France, as they were for Auſtria in 1741. The roads were open to the French and Spaniſh armies, by the way of Genoa. This

Republic, forced by the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia to declare war againſt them, had at laſt concluded a definitive treaty, and were to furniſh about eighteen thouſand men. The Spaniards gave them thirty thouſand piaſtres a-month, and one hundred thouſand at one payment for the uſe of the artillery with which they furniſhed the Spaniſh army; for in this long and varied war, the wealthy and powerful States always kept the others in pay. Don Philip's army, which deſcended with the French from the Alps, joined to the Genoeſe troops, was reputed to conſiſt of eighty thouſand men. That of Count de Gages, who had purſued the Germans to the environs of Rome, advanced, and with the Neapolitan army was about thirty thouſand ſtrong. This was juſt at the time that the King of Pruſſia, operating on the ſide of Saxony, and the Prince of Conti on the Rhine, prevented the Auſtrian forces from ſuccouring Italy. The Genoeſe even had the boldneſs to declare war in form againſt the King of Sardinia *. The deſign was, that the Spaniſh and Neapolitan army ſhould join the French and Spaniſh forces in the Milaneſe.

About the month of March, 1745, the Duke of Modena and Count de Gages, at the head of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan army, had purſued the Auſtrians from the environs of Rome to Rimini, from Rimini to Ceſene, to Imola, to Forli, to Bologna, and at laſt quite to Modena.

Marſhal Maillebois, a pupil of the celebrated Villars, appointed Captain-General of Don Philip's army, arrived ſoon after, by the way of Vintimiglia and Oneglia, and came down towards Montferrat about the end of the month of June, at the head of the Spaniards and French.

From the ſmall Principality of Oneglia there is a deſcent into the Marquiſate of Final, which is at the extremity of the territory of Genoa, and is the entrance into Mantuan-Montferrat, a country thick ſet with rocks which are a continuation of the Alps. After marching

* June 28, 1745.

through the valleys between theſe rocks, the fertile country of Alexandria preſents itſelf, and the direct road to Milan is from Alexandria to Tortona. Some miles farther is the paſſage of the Po; next, Pavia appears upon the Teſino; and from Pavia it is but a day's journey to the famous city of Milan, which is not fortified, and always ſends its keys to whomſoever paſſes the Teſino; but which has a very ſtrong caſtle, capable of making a vigorous and long reſiſtance.

To ſeize on this country, it is only neceſſary to make forced marches; to keep a ſharp look-out to the right and left is expedient, over a vaſt extent of country; alſo to be maſter of the courſe of the Po, from Caſal to Cremona; and to guard the Oglio, a river which falls from the Alps of the Tirol; or at leaſt to be in poſſeſſion of Lodi, Crema, and Pizzighitona, in order to block up the road againſt the Germans who may arrive from Trentin this way. In fine, a free communication more eſpecially muſt be had behind theſe places with the river of Genoa; that is to ſay, with the ſtrait paſs which runs by the ſide of the ſea from Antibes to Monaco and Vintimiglia, in order to have a ſure retreat in caſe of misfortune. All the poſts of this country are known and diſtinguiſhed by as many battles as the territory of Flanders.

This Italian campaign, which finiſhed ſo unhappily, commenced with one of the moſt brilliant manœuvres that ever was performed; and which would ſuffice to have eſtabliſhed a memorable glory, if great actions were not in theſe times buried in the vaſt multitude of the battles, and beſides, if this happy event had not been followed by diſaſters.

The King of Sardinia at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, and Count Schulenburgh with a number of Auſtrians pretty nearly equal, were entrenched in a creek or bay which was formed by the Tanaro near where it diſcharges itſelf into the Po, between Valentia and Alexandria.

Marſhal Maillebois, who commanded the French army, and Count Gages, General of the Spaniſh troops, were not

not able to force the King of Sardinia and drive him from his poſt, while he was ſupported by the Imperial forces. A ſon of the Marſhal's, then young, formed a ſcheme to ſeparate them, in order to which it was neceſſary to deceive the Auſtrians. He reſolved his plan, combining all the chances upon the diſtance of the places. "Should a large detachment direct its march to-"wards Milan, Schulenburgh will not ſuffer the town to "be taken; and by poſting to its relief, he muſt leave the "King of Sardinia expoſed. The detachment ſuddenly "faces about and joins our army, before the Auſtrians "can recover their former ſtation; we ſhall then have "but half the enemy's forces to engage. This briſk and "unexpected attack muſt throw them into confuſion."

Every thing came to paſs juſt as the young Count Maillebois had foreſeen and arranged them. The French and Spaniſh troops croſſed the Tanaro with the water up to their middle. They forced the camp of the King of Sardinia, and obliged him to retreat towards Caſal in Piedmont; by which means they became maſters of the intire courſe of the Po.

Juſt at the time that the King of France had conquered Flanders, the King of Pruſſia, his ally, ſtrengthened his cauſe by new ſucceſſes: every thing was then favourable in all the different ſcenes of the theatre of war.

At the end of the year 1745, the French and Spaniards found themſelves maſters of Montferrat, of Alexandria, of the Tortoneſe, of the country behind Genoa that is called the Imperial Fiefs of the Loméline, of the Paveſan, of the Lodéſan, of Milan, of almoſt all the Milaneſe, and of Parma and Placentia. All theſe ſucceſſes followed rapidly, like thoſe of the King of France in the Low-Countries, and of Prince Edward in Scotland; while the King of Pruſſia, on his part, beat the Auſtrian troops in Lower Germany. But in Italy, preciſely the ſame thing happened as in Bohemia at the beginning of this war. The moſt favourable appearances covered the greateſt calamities.

The intentions of the King of Pruſſia, in making war, were to annoy the Houſe of Auſtria as much as poſſible;

in making peace, to do as much miſchief to that of France. The peace of Breſlau loſt her Bohemia; and that of Dreſden, Italy.

Scarcely was the Empreſs-Queen a ſecond time rid of this enemy, than ſhe ſent freſh troops into Italy, by the Tirol and the Trentin, during the winter of 1746. The Infant Don Philip was in poſſeſſion of Milan, but not of the caſtle. His mother, the Queen of Spain, ordered him poſitively to attack it. Marſhal Maillebois wrote thus in the month of December 1745: "I foreſee a to-"tal deſtruction, if we obſtinately remain in the Mila-"neſe." The Spaniſh Council perſiſted in it, and all was loſt.

The troops of the Empreſs Queen on one ſide, and the Piedmonteſe on the other, gained ground every-where. The ſurrender of places and redoubled loſſes greatly diminiſhed the combined armies of France and Spain; and, at laſt, the fatal battle of Placentia reduced them to leave Italy with difficulty, and in a deplorable condition.

The Prince of Lichtenſtein commanded the army of the Empreſs-Queen. He was yet in the flower of his age. In his early youth he was ſent Ambaſſador from the father of this Empreſs to the Court of France, where he acquired univerſal eſteem. He merited ſtill more by his conduct and courage at the battle of Placentia; for finding himſelf in the ſame ſtate of ſickneſs and languor which Marſhal Saxe laboured under at the battle of Fontenoy, he ſurmounted like him the exceſs of his diſorder to fly to the battle, and he gained as complete a victory. This battle was the longeſt and moſt bloody, of all the war. Marſhal Maillebois begun the attack three hours before day *, and remained conqueror a long time on the right wing, which he commanded; but the left wing of the army being ſurrounded by a ſuperior number of Auſtrians, and General Arembourre wounded and taken priſoner, it was entirely defeated; and after nine hours combat they were obliged to retire under Placentia.

If the ancient method of cloſe fighting were in practice, an engagement of nine hours, battalion againſt battalion,

* June 16, 1746.

talion, ſquadron againſt ſquadron, and man to man, would deſtroy whole armies, and Europe would have been depopulated by the prodigious number of battles that have been fought in our days: but in theſe combats, as I have already remarked, they ſeldom cloſe. Muſkets and cannon are leſs deſtructive than the pike or the ſword were formerly. They are a long time even without firing; and in the encloſed country of Italy, where they fire through hedges, a great deal of time is loſt in ſeizing a trifling poſt, in pointing the cannon, in forming and reforming:—thus nine hours of battle are not ſo many hours of deſtruction.

The loſs of the Spaniards, of the French, and ſome Neapolitan regiments, amounted, however, to above eight thouſand men killed and wounded, beſides four thouſand being made priſoners. At laſt, the army of the King of Sardinia arrived, and then the danger was doubled; for the whole army of the three Powers of France, Spain, and Naples, were in danger of being made priſoners.

At this unfortunate juncture the Infant Don Philip received a piece of news, which, according to all appearances, was to fill up the meaſure of his misfortunes. This was the death of his father Philip V. King of Spain *. This monarch, after having undergone many reverſes of fortune, and in his youth been twice obliged to abandon his capital, at laſt reigned peaceably in Spain; and if he did not revive the ſplendor this monarchy enjoyed in the time of Philip II. he at leaſt placed it in a more flouriſhing ſtate than it was in under Philip IV. and Charles II. He had only to ſuffer the hard neceſſity of always ſeeing Gibraltar, Minorca, and the commerce of the Spaniſh Empire in America, in the hands of the Engliſh, who had ever diſturbed the happineſs of his adminiſtration. The conqueſt of Oran from the Moors in 1732; the crown of Naples and Sicily, taken from the Auſtrians, and placed upon the head of his ſon Don Carlos; ſignalized his reign: and ſome time before his death, he flattered himſelf with ſeeing the Milaneſe, Parma, and Placentia, ſubmit to

* July 9, 1746.

the Infant Don Philip, his other ſon by his ſecond marriage with the Princeſs of Parma.

Precipitated, like other princes, into thoſe great deſigns which put almoſt all Europe in motion, he experienced more than any one the vanity of grandeur, and the grievous neceſſity of ſacrificing ſo many thouſands of men to intereſts which change every day. Diſguſted with ſovereignty, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his eldeſt ſon Don Louis, and reaſſumed it again after the death of that Prince; always ready to quit it, as having from his melancholy diſpoſition experienced nothing but the bitterneſs that is attached to human life, even in the midſt of arbitrary power.

The news of the King's death arriving at the army after the defeat, augmented the embarraſſment in which they were all involved. They were yet uncertain if Ferdinand VI. ſucceſſor of Philip V. would do as much for his brother-in-law, as Philip had done for his ſon. The remaining part of this flouriſhing army of the triple alliance were in greater danger than ever of being ſhut up without any reſource. They were between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia. To fight in an open country, or in an advantageous poſt, againſt a ſuperior army, is very common; but to ſave conquered and ſurrounded troops very rare: this is the maſter-piece of the military art.

The Count de Maillebois (ſon of the Marſhal) was ſo hardy as to propoſe a ſkirmiſhing retreat. He undertook this enterprize, conducted it under the eye of his father, and accompliſhed it. The three armies paſſed ſafely in a day and a night over three bridges with four thouſand mules laden, and a thouſand proviſion-waggons, forming themſelves along the Tidona. Meaſures were ſo well taken, that the Sardinians and Auſtrians could not attack them till they were in a ſtate of defence. The French and Spaniſh armies ſupported a long and obſtinate engagement, in which they were not once thrown into diſorder.

This day, more eſteemed by the judges of the military ſcience than admired by the vulgar, was reckoned a happy

happy one, becauſe the object propoſed was accompliſhed: it was, however, extremely diſagreeable to retreat by Tortona, and to leave Placentia and the whole country in the power of the enemy. In effect, the day after this extraordinary battle Placentia ſurrendered, and above three thouſand ſick were made priſoners of war.

Of all this great army which was to ſubdue Italy, ſix thouſand effective men only were left at Tortona. The ſame thing happened in the time of Louis XIV. after the battle of Turin. Francis I. Louis XII. and Charles VIII. underwent the ſame diſgraces:—uſeful leſſons, though never attended to!

They retired immediately to Gavi *, towards the confines of the Genoeſe. The Infant and the Duke of Modena went to Genoa; but, inſtead of being ſecure there, their alarms were augmented. Genoa was blocked up by an Engliſh fleet; and they had no proviſions to ſupport the few cavalry that ſtill remained. Forty thouſand Auſtrians and twenty thouſand Piedmonteſe approached it. If they had remained in Genoa, they might have defended it; but they abandoned the Counties of Nice, Savoy, and Provence. The Marquis de la Mina, a new Spaniſh General, was ſent to ſave the remains of the army. The Genoeſe beſought him to ſtay, but they could obtain nothing.

Genoa is not a city that ought, like Milan, to carry its keys to whomſoever approaches it with an army. Beſides the works of the city, there is a ſecond rampart, of more than two leagues extent, formed by a chain of rocks. Beyond this double encloſure, the Appennine mountains in every part ſerve it as a fortification. The poſt of the Bocchetta, by which the enemy advanced, had been always deemed impregnable; yet the troops which guarded this poſt made no reſiſtance, but went and joined the ſhattered army of the French and Spaniards, which had filed off by Vintimiglia. The conſternation of the Genoeſe would not permit them even to attempt a defence. They had a conſiderable artillery, and the enemy no cannon at all; but they did not wait its arrival, and terror precipitated them into every extremity they

* Auguſt 17.

they had reaſon to fear. The Senate diſpatched four Senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Auſtrians were encamped, to receive from General Brown, and the Marquis de Botta, d'Adorno, a Milaneſe, the Empreſs-Queen's Lieutenant-General, the terms they would be pleaſed to grant. They conſented to ſurrender the poſſeſſion of the town in twenty-four hours; to deliver up their own ſoldiers, with the French and Spaniſh, priſoners of war; and to yield up all the effects belonging to the ſubjects of France, Spain, and Naples. They ſtipulated alſo, that four Senators ſhould be delivered as hoſtages at Milan; that they ſhould pay upon the ſpot fifty thouſand Genovins, which make about four hundred thouſand French livres, till the conqueror ſhould impoſe ſuch taxes as he thought proper.

It was remembered that Louis XIV. had formerly exacted of the Doge of Genoa, that he, with four Senators, ſhould repair to Verſailles and make an apology to him. To the Empreſs-Queen they added two more; but ſhe placed her glory in refuſing what Louis had exacted *. She was of opinion that there was little honour in humbling the weak, and only thought of raiſing heavy contributions on them, which ſhe had more need of than the vain ambition of ſeeing the Doge of the little Republic of Genoa, with ſix Genoeſe, at the feet of the Imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at twenty-four millions of livres; enough to ruin it totally. This Republic little thought, at the beginning of the war for the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Auſtria, that ſhe ſhould be made the victim of it: but when Europe takes arms, there is no little State which ought not to tremble.

The Auſtrian power, reduced in Flanders, but victorious in the Alps, was only embarraſſed about the choice of the conqueſts ſhe might make towards Italy. It appeared equally eaſy to enter Naples or Provence; but it

* This circumſtance reflects a ſort of retro-active diſgrace upon the inſolent vanity of *Le Grand Monarque*. When men are vain, they are vainer than women; and when women are great, they are greater than men. *Tranſlator*.

would

would have been eaſier to have kept Naples. The Auſtrian Council believed, that after having taken Toulon and Marſeilles, there would be no difficulty in reducing the Two Sicilies, and that the paſſage to the Alps might be cut off from the French.

On the 28th of October, 1746, Marſhal Maillebois was upon the Var, which ſeparates France from Piedmont, with not quite eleven thouſand men. The Marquis de la Mina did not bring back nine thouſand. The Spaniſh General ſeparated them from the French, and turned towards Savoy by the way of Dauphiny; for the Spaniards were always maſters of this Duchy, which they were willing to preſerve by abandoning the reſt.

The conquerors paſſed the Var with near forty thouſand men. The remains of the French army retired into Provence, in want of every thing; half the officers on foot; without ammunition or implements for deſtroying the bridges, and ſhort of proviſions.

The clergy, chief inhabitants, and the whole body of the people, ran to meet the Auſtrian detachments, to offer them contributions, and preſerve themſelves and families from being plundered.

Such were the effects of the revolutions of Italy during the conqueſt of the Low-Countries by the French, and while Prince Edward, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, had won and loſt the Kingdom of Scotland.

CHAP. XX.

The Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe enter into Provence; the Engliſh into Britany. Revolutions in Genoa, &c.

THE flames of war which began towards the Danube, and almoſt at the gates of Vienna, and had at firſt the appearance only of a few months duration, had reached after ſix years the coaſts of France. Almoſt all Provence was become a prey to the Auſtrians. On one

one ſide, their detachments deſolated Dauphiny; on the other, they paſſed beyond the Durance *. Vence and Grace were abandoned to pillage. The Engliſh made deſcents into Britany, and their fleet anchored before Toulon and Marſeilles, to aſſiſt their allies in taking thoſe two cities, while other ſquadrons attacked the French poſſeſſions in Aſia and America.

It was neceſſary to ſave Provence. Marſhal Belleiſle was ſent there; but at firſt without money and without an army. It was his duty to repair the evils of an univerſal war, which he alone had occaſioned. He ſaw nothing but deſolation; a frightened militia; ſhattered regiments without diſcipline, who tore the very hay and ſtraw from each other; the ſumpter-mules dying for want of food, the enemy having ranſacked and devoured every thing from the Var to the rivers d'Argent and Durance. The Infant Don Philip and the Duke of Modena were in the town of Aix, in Provence, where they waited the efforts of France and Spain to releaſe them from their cruel ſituation.

Their reſources were yet at a diſtance; their wants and dangers preſſing. The Marſhal found great difficulty to borrow in his own name fifty thouſand crowns, to ſupply the moſt urgent occaſions; and was obliged to perform the offices of Commiſſary and Comptroller. Afterwards, in proportion as the Government ſent him ſome battalions and ſquadrons, he took poſſeſſion of poſts, by means of which he ſtopped the progreſs of the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe. On one ſide he covered Caſtellane, Draguignan, and Brignoles, which the enemy were upon the point of taking.

In fine, at the beginning of January, 1747, finding himſelf ſixty battalions and twenty two ſquadrons ſtrong, and being ſeconded by the Marquis de la Mina, who furniſhed him with four or five thouſand Spaniards, he ſaw himſelf in a condition of driving the enemy out of Provence, by purſuing them from poſt to poſt. They

* A river which runs through Provence.

were

were ſtill more embarraſſed than he, on account of the failure of proviſions. This eſſential article renders the greateſt part of invaſions abortive. They had been furniſhed at firſt with proviſions from Genoa; but the ſurpriſing revolution of that place at this time, which all hiſtory cannot parallel, deprived them of a neceſſary ſupport, and by that means obliged them to return to Italy.

CHAP. XXI.

Revolution of Genoa.

AT this time there happened in Genoa a revolution as important as it was unforeſeen.

The Auſtrians uſed the rights of victory with rigour; and the Genoeſe having exhauſted their reſources, and paid all their ſtock out of St. George's Bank, which was ſixteen millions, requeſted a releaſe for the other eight: but on the 30th of November, 1746, it was ſignified to them on the part of the Empreſs-Queen, that they muſt not only diſcharge that ſum, but alſo pay about the ſame ſum for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the ſuburbs of St. Pierre des Arènes, of Biſagno, and in the neighbouring villages.

On the publication of theſe orders, deſpair ſeized all the inhabitants. Their commerce was ſunk; their credit loſt; their bank exhauſted; their magnificent country-houſes, which embelliſhed the environs of Genoa, pillaged; the inhabitants treated by the ſoldiers as ſlaves: in ſhort, they had nothing more to loſe, except their lives; and there was not a Genoeſe who at laſt did not appear fully determined to ſacrifice even life itſelf, rather than bear any longer a treatment ſo ſhameful and ſevere.

Genoa, thus enſlaved, ſtill reckoned among her diſgraces the loſs of the Kingdom of Corſica, which had ſo long revolted againſt them; and the malcontents of which would

would without doubt be for ever ſupported by the conquerors. Corſica, which complained of being oppreſſed by Genoa in the ſame manner as Genoa was by the Auſtrians, rejoiced, in this chaos of revolutions, at the misfortunes of their maſters. This additional weight of calamity was felt only by the Senate, which, in loſing Corſica, loſt nothing but a phantom of authority; but the reſt of the Genoeſe were victims to thoſe real afflictions which ſlavery brings along with it.

Some of the Senators fomented ſecretly and artfully the deſperate reſolutions that the inhabitants ſeemed diſpoſed to take, in which they had occaſion for the greateſt circumſpection; becauſe, in all appearance, a raſh and ill-ſupported revolt would bring deſtruction on the town and Senate. The emiſſaries of the Senators contented themſelves with ſaying to the moſt reputable of the people, "How long is it that you will wait for the Auſtrians "to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and chil-"dren, and rob you of that ſmall remainder of ſub-"ſiſtence which you have left? Their troops are diſperſed "without the walls; and in the town only a few re-"main, who keep the guard of your gates. You are "here upwards of thirty thouſand capable of a coup-"de-main;—is it not better to die than to behold the "ruin of your country?" Many ſuch diſcourſes animated the people; but as yet they did not dare to ſtir, nor had any one the courage to erect the ſtandard of Liberty.

The Auſtrians took cannon and mortars from the arſenal of Genoa for the expedition of Provence, and made the inhabitants draw them; who murmured, but ſtill obeyed. An Auſtrian Captain * having rudely ſtruck one of them who did not pull ſtrong enough, this moment was a ſignal for the people to aſſemble; all was in motion; and they armed themſelves with every thing they could find, ſtones, ſticks, ſwords, muſquets, and all ſorts of inſtruments. Theſe people, who, when the enemy was at a great diſtance, had not the leaſt thought of defending their city, now began to defend it when that enemy was maſter of it. The Marquis de Botta, who was at St. Pierre des Arènes, thought this commotion

* December 5, 1746.

tion would ſubſide of itſelf, and that fear would ſoon take place of this tranſitory fury; ſo that the next day he contented himſelf with reinforcing the guards at the gates, and ſending a few detachments into the ſtreets. The people re-aſſembled in greater numbers than the day before, ran to the palace, and demanded of the Doge the arms that were depoſited there, who made no anſwer; but the domeſtics ſhewed them another magazine, to which they fled, forced it open, and armed themſelves. An hundred officers diſtributed themſelves in the market-place; the ſtreets were barricaded; and the order which the Auſtrians endeavoured as much as poſſible to reſtore in this ſudden and furious inſurrection, by no means abated the ardour of the Genoeſe.

It appears, that on this and the following days the conſternation which had ſo long diſpirited the minds of the Genoeſe, had got poſſeſſion of the Germans. They did not attempt to quell the people with regular troops, but left them to encreaſe their numbers, and make themſelves maſters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael.

The Senate, not yet certain that the people would be able to ſupport what they had ſo well begun, ſent a deputation to the Auſtrian General in St. Pierre des Arènes. The Marquis de Botta was negociating when he ſhould have taken up arms, and told the Senators that they ſhould arm the Genoeſe troops which were left diſarmed in the town, join the Auſtrians, and fall upon the rebels at a ſignal he ſhould give: but it could not be expected that the Senate of Genoa ſhould join the oppreſſors of their country to deſtroy its defenders, and complete its ruin.

The Germans, depending on the intelligences they had in the town, advanced * to the gate of Biſagno by the ſuburb of that name; but were received by a diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry. The inhabitants of Genoa now compoſed an army, beat the drum in the name of the whole people, and ordered all the citizens under pain of death to appear in arms, and range themſelves under the ſtandards

* December 9, 1746.

ſtandards of their reſpective quarters. The Germans were attacked in the ſuburbs of Biſagno and of St. Pierre des Arènes at once; the alarm-bell was heard at the ſame time in all the villages of the Vallies, and the peaſants aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand. A Prince named Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the Marquis de Botta in St. Pierre des Arènes. The General and his nine regiments retired in diſorder, leaving four thouſand priſoners, and near one thouſand killed, with all their magazines and equipages, and retreated to the poſt of Bocchetta, purſued continually by the ſimple peaſants, and were forced at laſt to abandon this poſt alſo, and fly quite to Gavi.

Thus, by too much deſpiſing and overburdening the people, and being ſimple enough to believe that the Senate would join them even againſt the inhabitants who ſupported the Senate itſelf, the Auſtrians loſt Genoa. All Europe ſaw with ſurprize that a weak body of people, totally unacquainted with arms, and whom neither their encloſure of rocks, nor the ſupport of the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples, could ſave from the Auſtrian bondage, broke it themſelves without any ſuccours, and drove away their conquerors.

In theſe tumults many robberies were committed, and the houſes of thoſe Senators who were ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrian intereſt, were pillaged; but the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance in this revolution was, that this ſame people, who had four thouſand of their conquerors ſoldiers in priſon, did not turn their forces againſt their maſters. They had chiefs; but they had been pointed out to them by the Senate: and among theſe there was no one conſiderable enough to uſurp the authority long. The people choſe thirty-ſix citizens to govern them; but added four Senators, Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomelini, and Fornari; and theſe four nobles ſecretly gave intelligence of all that paſſed to the Senate, which to appearance no longer interfered in the government; though it actually preſided, and cauſed a public diſavowal to be made at Vienna of the revolution it fomented at Genoa, and for which they dreaded the moſt horrible

horrible vengeance. Its Miniſter at that Court declared, that the Genoeſe nobility had no hand in this alteration of affairs, which he ſtiled a revolt. The Council of Vienna, acting ſtill as maſters, and imagining they ſhould ſoon be able to recover Genoa, notified to him that the Senate muſt inſtantly pay the remaining eight millions of the ſum exacted from the Republic, and give thirty more for the damage ſuffered by their troops, reſtoring likewiſe all the priſoners, and executing juſtice on the ſeditious. Theſe orders, which an enraged maſter might have given to his rebellious and impotent ſubjects, only ſerved to confirm the Genoeſe in the reſolution to defend themſelves, and in the hopes of driving from their territories thoſe whom they had chaſed out of their capital. Four thouſand Auſtrians ſtill remaining as hoſtages in the priſons of Genoa gave them farther encouragement.

In the mean time, the Auſtrians, aided by the Piedmonteſe, by quitting Provence, threatened to retake Genoa. One of the Auſtrian Generals had already reinforced his army with ſome troops of Albany accuſtomed to fight among rocks. Theſe are the deſcendants of the ancient Epirotes, who paſs for as great warriors as their anceſtors. He gained theſe Epirotes by means of his uncle, the famous Schulenburg, who, after having reſiſted Charles XII. King of Sweden, defended Corfu againſt the Ottoman Empire. The Auſtrians then repaſſed the Bocchetta. They approached very near Genoa, and the country to the right and left was abandoned to the fury of the irregular troops, to ſackage and devaſtation. All Genoa was in a conſternation. Terror produced a ſecret correſpondence with their oppreſſors; and to add to this misfortune, there was a great diviſion at this time between the Senate and the people. The city had proviſions, but no money; and eighteen thouſand florins per diem were wanting to defray the expences of the militia who were ſkirmiſhing in the country, or who defended the city. The Republic had not one experienced officer, nor any regular diſciplined forces. No ſuccours could arrive but by ſea, and then with the riſque

of being taken by an Engliſh fleet, commanded by Admiral Medley, who was maſter of its coaſts.

The King of France, however, ſent the Senate a million of livres by a ſmall veſſel, who eſcaped the Engliſh fleet. The gallies of Toulon and Marſeilles ſet ſail with about ſix thouſand ſoldiers. They put into Corſica and Monaco, partly on account of a ſtorm, but chiefly thro' fear of the Engliſh fleet. This fleet took ſix of them, with about a thouſand men; but at laſt the remainder reached Genoa, with about four thouſand five hundred French troops *, which revived the hopes of the inhabitants.

Soon after, the Duke de Boufflers arrived, and took upon him the command of the forces which defended Genoa, whoſe numbers daily encreaſed. This General had paſſed the Engliſh Admiral unnoticed in a ſmall bark.

The Duke de Boufflers † found himſelf at the head of about eight thouſand regular troops in a blockaded city, and expecting every moment to be beſieged; in which there was no regularity, no proviſions, no powder, and the chiefs of the people were at variance with the Senate. The Auſtrians always had ſome ſpies in it; and the Duke had as much trouble at firſt with thoſe he came to defend, as thoſe he came to engage. He re-eſtabliſhed order every where; and proviſions were landed in ſafety, on paying proper conſideration to ſome of the Captains of the Engliſh fleet. Thus private intereſt repairs public misfortunes! The Auſtrians had ſome Friars in their intereſt; but the Genoeſe made uſe of the ſame arms with more ſucceſs. The confeſſors were engaged to refuſe abſolution to thoſe who wavered between their country and the Auſtrians. An hermit put himſelf at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his zeal in haranguing them, and by his example in fighting. He was killed in one of the ſkirmiſhes which happened daily, and died exhorting the Genoeſe to defend themſelves. The Genoeſe ladies pledged their jewels to the Jews for money to defray the expences of the neceſſary fortifications.

* The arithmetic of this paragraph is not very correct. *Tranſlator.*

† April 1747.

But the greateſt of all encouragements was, the valour of the French troops, whom the Duke often ſent out to attack the enemy in their poſts beyond the double works of Genoa. They ſucceeded in almoſt all theſe little ſallies, whoſe particular hiſtory at that time drew attention, but was afterwards loſt in the multiplicity of greater events.

The Court of Vienna at laſt ordered the blockade to be raiſed. The Duke de Boufflers did not enjoy this glory and happineſs; for he died of the ſmall-pox on the very day that the enemy retired. He was the ſon of Marſhal Boufflers, that General held in ſo much eſteem under Louis XIV. a virtuous man, and a good citizen. The Duke poſſeſſed all his father's good qualities. June 27, 1747.

Genoa was no longer attacked; but it was ſtill threatened by the Piedmonteſe, who were maſters of all its environs; by the Engliſh fleet, which ſtopped up her ports; and by the Auſtrians, who were returning from the Alps to fall upon her. It was neceſſary that Marſhal Belleiſle ſhould come down into Italy, which would be attended with the greateſt difficulties. Genoa ſeemed at the laſt extremity; the Kingdom of Naples expoſed; all hopes loſt of eſtabliſhing Don Philip in Italy; and the Duke of Modena in this caſe appeared without reſource. But Louis XV. did not deſpond.

He ſent the Duke of Richelieu to Genoa with freſh troops and money. The Duke eſcaped the Engliſh fleet in a ſmall veſſel: his troops met with the ſame ſucceſs. The Court of Madrid ſeconded theſe efforts; ſent about three thouſand men to Genoa; and promiſed the Genoeſe two hundred and fifty thouſand livres per month: but the King of France paid them. Sept. 27, 1747.

The Duke of Richelieu in ſeveral engagements repulſed the enemy, fortified all the poſts, and ſecured the coaſts. The Court of England exhauſted itſelf to cruſh Genoa, as that of France did to defend it. The Engliſh Miniſtry gave one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds

ſterling to the Empreſs-Queen, and the ſame ſum to the King of Sardinia, to undertake the ſiege of Genoa. The Engliſh loſt the money they advanced. Marſhal Belleiſle, after having taken the Province of Nice, kept the Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe in continual alarm, leſt, if they attempted the ſiege of Genoa, he ſhould fall upon them in the rear. Thus did they mutually impede each other's progreſs.

CHAP. XXII.

The Battle of Exilles fatal to the French.

TO penetrate into Italy in ſpite of the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies, what way was to be taken? The Spaniſh General La Mina wanted to file off towards Final, by a road on the ſide of the Ponent, where the troops could only paſs one by one; but he had neither cannon nor proviſions. To tranſport the French artillery; to preſerve a communication of forty days march by a route equally cloſe and ſteep, where every thing muſt be carried on the backs of mules; to be expoſed continually to the cannon of the Engliſh fleet; all theſe difficulties appeared inſurmountable. The road of Demont and of Coni was propoſed; but to beſiege Coni was an enterprize well known to be dangerous. It was determined to take the route by the neck of the Exilles, about twenty-five leagues from Nice, and it was reſolved to carry that place.

This enterprize was not leſs difficult; but there was no choice to be made in ſo many perils. Marſhal Belleiſle eagerly ſeized this occaſion to ſignalize himſelf. He poſſeſſed as much bravery to execute a project, as dexterity to conduct it; an indefatigable man both in the cabinet and in the field. He ſet out and took his route back by Dauphiny; and penetrating afterwards towards the neck of the Aſſietto, on the road to Exilles, he found there twenty-one battalions of Piedmonteſe, who were waiting for him behind ramparts of

ſtone

ſtone and wood eighteen feet high, and thirteen feet in thickneſs, lined with artillery. To carry theſe retrenchments, Belleiſle had only twenty-eight battalions and ſeven field-pieces, which could hardly be placed to advantage. They were yet emboldened to this enterprize by the remembrance of the battles of Montalban and of Chateau-Dauphin, which ſeemed to juſtify their audacity. There are no attacks equal in all reſpects; and it is more difficult and more fatal to attack palliſadoes, which muſt be plucked up by the hand under a deſcending continual fire, than to climb up and fight upon rocks. Beſides, the Piedmonteſe were well diſciplined. Troops that had been commanded by the King of Sardinia were not to be deſpiſed. The action laſted two hours*; that is to ſay, the Sardinians killed all the French they thought proper within that ſpace of time. Field-Marſhal Arnaud, who led on a detachment, was one of the firſt who was mortally wounded, and likewiſe Monſ. de Grille, Major-General of the army.

Among all the bloody engagements which ſignalized this war on all ſides, this was one of thoſe that was the moſt to be deplored, on account of the premature loſs of ſeveral promiſing young men of diſtinction, idly ſacrificed. The Count de Goas, Colonel of the regiment of Bourbon, periſhed in it. The Marquis de Donge, Colonel of the regiment Soiſſons, received a wound of which he died ſix days after the battle. The Marquis de Brienne, Colonel of the regiment Artois, after he had loſt an arm, marched up to the palliſadoes, crying out, "There "yet remains another for the King's ſervice!" and was ſhot dead. They reckoned three thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five ſlain, and one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix wounded; a fatality contrary to the general event of battles, wherein the wounded generally exceed the number of the dead. A great number of officers periſhed: all the officers of the regiment of Bourbon were killed or wounded, while the Piedmonteſe did not loſe one hundred.

Belleiſle, in deſpair, tore up the palliſadoes; and being wounded in both his hands, he ſtill tugged at the

* July 19, 1747.

ſtakes with his teeth, when he received a mortal blow *. He had often ſaid, that a General ought not to ſurvive his defeat; and he proved too clearly that this ſentiment was engraven on his heart.

The wounded were carried to Briançon, where the fatal diſaſter of this day was quite unexpected. Monſ. d'Audifret, the King's Lieutenant, ſold his ſilver plate to relieve the ſick. His lady, though ready to lye-in, undertook the care of the hoſpitals, dreſſed the wounded with her own hands, and died in the diſcharge of this pious office;—a melancholy but noble example, worthy to be conſecrated in hiſtory †!

CHAP. XXIII.

The King of France Maſter of Flanders and victorious, in vain makes Offers of Peace. The taking of Dutch Brabant. The Situation of Affairs creates a Stadtholder.

IN this buſtle of events, ſometimes unfortunate and ſometimes favourable, the King, victorious in Flanders, was the only Sovereign who deſired peace. Having always a right ‡ to attack the territories of the Dutch, and conſtantly threatening it, he thought to bring them over to his deſign of a general pacification, by propoſing to them a Congreſs to be held in one of their own towns. Breda was fixed upon, and the Marquis de Puiſieux, the King's Miniſter-Plenipotentiary, was the firſt there. The Dutch ſent M. Waſſenaar, without having any determined view. The Court of England, which did not incline to peace, could not

* A mad, fooliſh and *unheroic* action, unworthy to have been recorded. But war, it ſeems, has its *voluntary* martyrs, as well as religon; who provoke death thus idly, when it can be of no uſe to human life, nor any ornament to human nature. This was the action of an impriſoned rat. *Tranſlator.*

† Yea, even in *ſacred hiſtory!* Idem.

‡ What *right*, except the *wrong* of conqueſt? *Tranſlator.*

publicly

publicly refuſe it. The Earl of Sandwich, a grandſon, by the mother's ſide, of the famous Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, was the Engliſh Plenipotentiary. But while the allies of the Empreſs-Queen had Miniſters at this uſeleſs Congreſs, that Princeſs did not think proper to ſend any.

It was the intereſt of the Dutch more than of any other Power, to promote the happy effect of theſe pacific appearances. A people wholly commercial, not warlike, who had neither good generals nor good ſoldiers, and whoſe beſt troops were priſoners in France to the number of thirty-five thouſand men, it might be imagined could have no other object in view than that of averting ſuch another ſtorm from their territories as they had ſeen fall upon Flanders. Holland was no longer even a maritime power; its Admiralties could not then put to ſea twenty men of war. The States all perceived, that if the war broke into their Provinces, they muſt elect a Stadtholder, and conſequently a maſter. The Magiſtrates of Utrecht, of Dort, and of the Brill, had always contended for a neutrality; and ſome other members of the Republic were avowedly of the ſame opinion. In a word, it is certain, that if the States-General had taken a firm reſolution to reſtore peace to Europe, they might have effected it; they might have added this honour to that of having formerly made a flouriſhing free ſtate of ſuch an inconſiderable country; and they had the power to acquire it a long time in their hands: but the Engliſh party and the general prejudice prevailed. I do not believe that there are a people on earth who conquer ancient prejudices with ſo much difficulty as the Dutch nation. The irruption of Louis XIV. and the year 1672 were ſtill at heart; and I may venture to ſay, that I have diſcovered, on more occaſions than one, that their minds, ſtruck with the ambitious haughtineſs of Louis XIV. could not comprehend the moderation of Louis XV. They never thought him ſincere; they regarded all his pacific meaſures, and all his compliances, either as proofs of weakneſs or as ſnares.

The King, unable to perſuade them, was obliged to conquer a part of their country. While this uſeleſs Congreſs was held, he ſent his forces into Dutch Flanders; a Province diſmembered from the domains of the very Houſe of Auſtria whoſe defence they had engaged in. It commences a league below Ghent, and extends to the right and to the left; on one ſide, to Middleburgh in Zealand; and on the other, to the Scheld below Antwerp: it is lined with a number of ſmall forts difficult of acceſs, and capable of making reſiſtance. The King, before he took this Province, carried his moderation ſo far as to notify to the States-General, that he ſhould look on theſe fortreſſes only as pledges, which he ſhould engage to reſtore as ſoon as the Dutch ſhould ceaſe to foment the war by granting free paſſage and aids of men and money to his enemies.

No account was made of this indulgence; an irruption alone was perceived; and the march of the French troops made a Stadtholder. What the Abbé de la Ville, when he was Envoy in Holland, had foretold to ſome of the High and Mighty Lords who refuſed all terms of reconciliation, and wanted to change the form of government, now actually happened: "It will not be "yourſelves, but we who ſhall give you a maſter."

The people in general, on the news of an invaſion, demanded the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder. The town of Tervere, of which he is Lord, began by nominating him *. All the towns in Zealand followed the example; Rotterdam and Delft proclaimed him †; and it was uſeleſs for the Regents to oppoſe the multitude: the public voice was unanimous. The inhabitants of the Hague ſurrounded the palace where the Deputies of the Province of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland aſſembled, the moſt powerful of the Seven, which alone pays one-half of the expences of the Republic, and whoſe Penſionary is looked upon as the moſt conſiderable per-

* April 15.

† Perhaps M. Voltaire might have deemed it below the dignity of hiſtory, to mention that it was a common black-ſmith of Middleburgh who firſt proclaimed the Stadtholder at Tervere. *Tranſlator.*

ſon in the State. It was neceſſary, in an inſtant, to hoiſt the enſign of the Houſe of Orange on the palace and on the Town-houſe, to appeaſe the people; and two days after the Prince was elected Stadtholder *. The commiſſion recites, "That, in conſideration of the "alarming ſituation of affairs, they appoint William-"Charles-Henry Frizo, Prince of Orange, of the Branch "of Naſſau-Dieſt †, to be Stadtholder, Captain-General, "and High Admiral."

He was ſoon acknowledged throughout the Seven Provinces, and received in that quality at the Aſſembly of the States-General. The terms in which the Province of Holland had couched his election, ſhewed too plainly that the Magiſtrates had appointed him againſt their will. It is ſufficiently known that every Prince aims at being abſolute, and that every Republic is ungrateful. The United Provinces, which owed to the Houſe of Naſſau the greateſt power that any petty State ever attained, could ſeldom fix upon the juſt medium between what they were indebted to the blood of their deliverers, and what they owed to their own liberty.

Louis XIV. in 1672, and Louis XV. in 1747, created two Stadtholders through terror; and the people of Holland have twice re-eſtabliſhed this Stadtholderſhip, which the Magiſtracy wanted to deſtroy.

The States had kept the Prince of Orange as ignorant of public affairs as they poſſibly could; and even when the Province of Gueldres had choſen him for Stadtholder in 1722; although this diſtinction was, at that time, only a title of honour; though he could not diſpoſe of any employment, nor change any garriſon, nor iſſue any orders; yet the States of Holland wrote in ſtrong terms to thoſe of Gueldres, to diſſuade them from a reſolution which they ſtiled fatal.

One moment now deprived them of the power they had enjoyed for fifty years.

The new Stadtholder began, at ſetting out, with ſuffering the populace to pillage and pull down the

* May 1. † *Dieſt*, but pronounced *Diſt*.

houſes

houſes of the collectors of the exciſe, all relations and dependants of the Burgomaſters; and when the Magiſtrates were thus attacked by the people, the military were obliged to reſtrain their fury.

The Prince, quite tranquil amidſt theſe commotions, procured himſelf the ſame authority which had been given to King William, and thus ſecured his power the firmer in his family. Not only the Stadtholderſhip became hereditary to his male iſſue, but even to his daughters and their poſterity; for ſome time afterwards a law was paſſed, that, in default of male iſſue, a woman might be Stadtholder and Captain-General, provided ſhe committed the exerciſe of the functions of her office to her huſband; and in caſe of a minority, the widow of the Stadtholder was to have the title of Gouvernante, and to nominate a Prince to perform the functions of the Stadtholderſhip.

By this revolution the United Provinces became a kind of mixed monarchy, leſs limited in many reſpects than thoſe of England, Sweden, and Poland. Thus nothing turned out in all this war which had been imagined at firſt; and every thing contrary to the expectations of all the Powers engaged in it, actually came to paſs. The enterprizes, the ſucceſſes, and the misfortunes of Prince Charles-Edward in England, were perhaps the moſt ſingular of any of thoſe events that aſtoniſhed all Europe *.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Enterprize, Victories, Defeat, and deplorable Misfortunes of Prince Charles-Edward Stuart.

PRINCE Charles-Edward was the ſon of him who was ſtiled the Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George. It is well known that his grandfather had

* I do not ſee any thing aſtoniſhing in the ill ſucceſs of ſuch a fooliſh, improbable, and *non-ſupported* enterprize. *Tranſlator.*

been

been dethroned by the Engliſh. His great-grandfather was condemned to the block by his own ſubjects; and his great-great-grandmother underwent the ſame ſentence from the Parliament of England *. This laſt ſcion of ſo many Kings and victims waſted his youth in retirement at Rome with his father. He had more than once expreſſed a deſire to expoſe his life to regain the throne of his anceſtors. He had been called into France ſince the year 1742, and had made ſome fruitleſs attempts to land in England. He now waited at Paris for ſome favourable opportunity, while France was exhauſting herſelf of men and money in Germany, in France, and in Italy. All thoughts of him had been buried during the viciſſitudes of this univerſal war. He was a ſacrifice to the public calamities of the times.

The Prince diſcourſing one day with Cardinal Tencin, who owed his promotion in the Sacred College to the intereſt of the Chevalier de St. George on a private agreement between them, the Cardinal ſaid to him, "Why do not you attempt to paſs over to the North "of Scotland in ſome veſſel? Your preſence alone will "form you a party and an army, and then France muſt "aſſiſt you."

This bold advice correſponding with the bravery of Charles-Edward, he determined to follow it. He imparted his deſign only to ſeven officers, part Iriſh and part Scotch, who agreed to ſhare his fate. One of them applied to one Mr. Walſh, a merchant at Nantz, and the ſon of an Iriſhman in the intereſt of the Houſe of Stuart. This merchant had a frigate which mounted eighteen guns, on board of which the Prince embarked the 12th of June, 1745, equipped for an expedition whoſe object was no leſs than the Crown of Great-Britain, with only ſeven officers, about eighteen hundred ſabres, twelve hundred muſquets, and forty-eight thouſand livres. The frigate was convoyed by a man of war of 64 guns, named the Elizabeth, which had been fitted out at Dunkirk to

* Mary, Queen of Scots;

cruize

cruize as a privateer. It was the cuſtom at this time for the Miniſter of the Marine to lend the King's ſhips to merchants and other adventurers, who paid a certain ſum for them to the King, and maintained the crew at their expence during the cruize. Neither the Miniſter of the Marine nor yet the King of France knew any thing of the deſtination of this ſhip.

On the 20th of the ſame month the Elizabeth and the frigate, ſailing in company together, met with three Engliſh men of war convoying a fleet of merchantmen. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, mounting ſeventy guns, ſeparated from the reſt to engage the Elizabeth; and it was a moſt fortunate circumſtance, which ſeemed to preſage ſucceſs to Prince Edward, that his frigate was not attacked. The Elizabeth and the Engliſh ſhip maintained a long, violent, and ineffectual engagement. The frigate which carried the grandſon of James II. eſcaped, and crowded all her ſails for Scotland *.

The firſt place the Prince touched at was a ſmall Iſland, almoſt a deſart, beyond Ireland, towards the fifty-eighth degree: it is a kind of girdle to the continent of Scotland. He landed in a little diſtrict called the Moidart. Some of the inhabitants to whom he made himſelf known fell on their knees. "But what ſhall we "do?" ſaid they to him. "We have no arms—we are "in extreme indigence—we live only upon oatmeal "bread, and we cultivate a barren ſoil." "I will till "that ground with you," replied the Prince; "I will "eat the ſame bread—I will ſhare your poverty, and I "bring you arms."

The effect of ſuch ſentiments on theſe people may be eaſily conceived. He was joined by ſome chiefs of the tribes of Scotland. Thoſe of the name of Macdonald of Locheil, the Camerons, and the Fraſers, came in ſearch of him.

Theſe tribes of Scotland, who are called Clans in the Scotch language, inhabit a country of more than two

* One of the principal parties in the enterprize aſſured me of this circumſtance. *Voltaire.*

hundred

hundred miles in extent, covered with mountains and foreſts. The thirty-three Iſles of the Orcades, and the thirty of Zetland, are all inhabited by theſe Clans, ſubject to one form of government. The ancient Roman military dreſs is preſerved by them alone, as has been already remarked in ſpeaking of the regiment of Scotch Highlanders who fought at the battle of Fontenoy. It may well be imagined that the rigour of the climate and their extreme poverty inure them to the greateſt fatigues. They ſleep on the bare ground; they endure hunger; they make long marches in the midſt of froſt and ſnow. Each Clan was in ſubjection to its *Laird*; that is to ſay, its Lord; who exerciſed an abſolute power over it; a power which no Engliſh Lord poſſeſſes; and they were commonly of the party embraced by their Lairds.

This ancient anarchy, which is called the feudal law, ſubſiſted in this poor ſterile part of Great-Britain, which was abandoned to its own cuſtoms. The inhabitants, without any employment which could procure them a comfortable ſubſiſtence, were always ready to run headlong into any enterprize that flattered them with the hopes of booty. This was not the caſe in Ireland; a more fertile country, and better governed by the Court of London, and in which they have given great encouragement to huſbandry and manufactures. The Iriſh began to be more firmly attached to the quiet enjoyment of their property than to the Houſe of Stuart. Theſe were the reaſons that Ireland was quiet, and Scotland in commotion.

Ever ſince the Union of the Kingdom of Scotland with that of England, in the reign of Queen Anne, ſeveral Scotch gentlemen who were not choſen Members of the Parliament at London, nor retained in the ſervice of the Court by penſions, were ſecretly devoted to the Houſe of Stuart; and in general the inhabitants of the Northern parts of Scotland, rather ſubdued than united, murmured at this Union, and regarded it as a kind of ſlavery.

The Clans of the Lairds in the intereſt of the Court, as were the Dukes of Argyle, Athol, Queenſbury, and

ſeveral others, remained faithful to the Government: a great number of private perſons, however, muſt be excepted, who were fired with the enthuſiaſm of their countrymen, and were ſoon engaged to take the part of a Prince who derived his origin from their country, and who excited their zeal and admiration.

The ſeven perſons whom the Prince had taken with him were, the Marquis of Tullibardine, (brother to the Duke of Athol) Macdonald, Sheridan, Sullivan, (appointed Quarter-maſter to an army they had not yet raiſed) Kelly an Iriſhman, and Strickland an Engliſhman.

They had not yet aſſembled three hundred men about his perſon, when they made a royal ſtandard of a piece of taffety which Sullivan had brought over. Every inſtant this troop encreaſed; and the Prince had not paſſed the village of Fenning before he ſaw himſelf at the head of fifteen hundred fighting men, whom he armed with the muſquets and ſabres he had brought over. He ſent the frigate back to France to inform the Kings of France and Spain of his landing. Theſe two Monarchs wrote to him, and ſtiled him "Brother:" not that they ſolemnly acknowledged him as heir to the Crown of Great-Britain, but when writing to him they could not refuſe this compliment, due to his birth and to his valour. They ſent him ſupplies at different times of money, ammunition, and arms. Theſe ſuccours were obliged to paſs by ſtealth through the Engliſh fleets, which cruized to the eaſt and to the weſt of Scotland. Some were taken; others arrived ſafe, and ſerved to encourage the party, which grew ſtronger every day. No ſeaſon could appear more favourable for a revolution: the King was abſent from England *, and there were not ſix thouſand regular troops in the whole Kingdom. Some companies of the regiment of Sinclair marched immediately from the environs of Edinburgh againſt the Prince's ſmall troop: theſe were entirely defeated. Thirty

* On his uſual ſummer-viſit to his Electoral dominions.

High-

Highlanders took eighty of the Engliſh priſoners, with their officers and baggage.

This firſt ſucceſs encreaſed the hopes and the courage of the party, and gained it new ſoldiers from all quarters. They continued their march without intermiſſion. Prince Edward, always on foot at the head of his mountaineers, clothed like them, eating as they did, traverſed the Counties of Badenoch, Athol, and Perthſhire, and ſeized on Perth, a conſiderable town in Scotland. Here he was ſolemnly proclaimed Regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, for his father James III*. This title of Regent of France, which a Prince arrogated to himſelf who was ſcarcely maſter of a little Scotch town, and who could not ſupport himſelf but by the aſſiſtance of the King of France, was in conſequence of an aſtoniſhing cuſtom which has prevailed, that the Kings of England take the title of Kings of France; a cuſtom which ought to be aboliſhed: yet it ſtill ſubſiſts, becauſe men never think of reforming abuſes till they become important and dangerous†.

The Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray arrived at this time at Perth, and ſwore allegiance to the Prince. They brought with them new troops: a whole company of a Scotch regiment in the ſervice of the Court, deſerted to range themſelves under his banners. He takes Dundee, Drummond, Newburg. A council of war is held: opinions are divided with reſpect to the route. The Prince was for marching directly to Edinburgh, the

* September 15, 1745.

† This reflection is very inapplicable to the ſubject, as it will be difficult for Mr. de Voltaire to prove, that the title of Kings of France which our Kings ſtill retain, is not founded on a valid claim, which diſpoſſeſſion by force of arms does not by any means aboliſh; nor is it likely that the continuing to annex this to the other titles of the Sovereigns of Great-Britain, will ever prove either important or dangerous to themſelves or their ſubjects. But it is to be obſerved once for all, that M. Voltaire, throughout the whole of his Memoirs of the young Pretender, writes with the partiality of a Frenchman, and ſhews an attachment to this branch of the Houſe of Stuart, which betrays his ignorance of the Britiſh conſtitution, when he arraigns the equity and juſtneſs of the Britiſh Nation for their ſufferings and final excluſion from the throne. *Tranſlator.*

capital

capital of Scotland: but how could he form any hopes of taking Edinburgh with ſo ſmall an army and no cannon? He had partizans in the city; but all the citizens were not for him. "It will be ſufficient (ſays the Prince) "to ſhew myſelf, to make them all declare for me;" and without loſs of time he marches to the capital. On his arrival he ſeizes the gate. The whole city is in alarm: ſome were for acknowledging the heir of their ancient Kings; others adhered to the Government.

A general pillage is apprehended. The moſt opulent citizens tranſport their effects into the Caſtle. Governor Gueſt retires there with his garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred men. The Magiſtrates come to the gate of which Charles-Edward was maſter. The Provoſt, named Stuart, who was ſuſpected to hold intelligence with him, appeared before him, and with a countenance of diſmay aſked him what he was to do. "Fall on your "knees (replied an inhabitant) and acknowledge him." He was immediately proclaimed in the capital.

In the mean time a price was ſet upon his head at London. The Lords of the Regency, during the abſence of the King, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that they would give thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to whoever ſhould deliver it. This proſcription was conformable to the Act of Parliament made in the 17th year of the King's reign, and to other Acts of the ſame Parliament. Queen Anne had been forced to proſcribe her own brother, to whom in her latter days ſhe would have left her crown, if ſhe could have followed her own ſentiments. She had offered four thouſand pounds for his head, and the Parliament fixed it at eighty thouſand.

If ſuch a proſcription is a maxim of ſtate, it is a very difficult one to reconcile with thoſe principles of moderation which all Courts take a pride in profeſſing. Prince Charles-Edward might have made a ſimilar proclamation; but he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his cauſe, and to render himſelf more reſpectable, by oppoſing ſome months after to thoſe ſanguinary proſcriptions, manifeſtoes, in which he forbade his adherents to attempt the perſon of the reigning King, or of any Prince of the Houſe of Hanover. Beſides, he only thought how he might make the

the moſt advantage of the firſt ardour of his party, which he could not ſuffer to cool.

Scarcely was he maſter of Edinburgh when he learnt that he might come to an engagement, and he prepared for it as faſt as poſſible. He knew that General Cope was advancing againſt him, at the head of ſome regular troops; that the militia was raiſing in all parts; that regiments were forming in England; that others were ſent for home from Flanders; in fine, that he had not a moment to loſe. He quits Edinburgh, not leaving a ſingle ſoldier in it, and marches with about three thouſand Highlanders towards the Engliſh, who were to the number of four thouſand, and had two regiments of dragoons. The Prince's cavalry conſiſted only of ſome ſumpter-horſes. He neither gave himſelf the time nor the trouble to ſend for his field-pieces. He knew that the enemy had ſix; but nothing ſtopped him.

He came up with the enemy at Preſton-pans, about ſeven miles from Edinburgh. He was ſcarcely arrived when he ranged his little army in order of battle. The Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray commanded, one on the right, and the other on the left wing of his army; that is to ſay, each had about ſeven or eight hundred men. Charles-Edward had ſo ſtrong an idea of conqueſt, that before he charged the enemy, he remarked a defile by which they might retreat, and ſent five hundred Highlanders to take poſſeſſion of it. Thus he engaged with only two thouſand five hundred men, having not ſo much as a ſecond line of battle, nor a corps-de-reſerve. He drew his ſword, and flinging the ſcabbard at ſome diſtance from him, "My companions (ſaid he), "I will not ſheath it again till you are free and happy." He had got poſſeſſion of the field of battle almoſt as ſoon as the enemy; and he did not give them time to make a diſcharge of their artillery. His whole force marched up rapidly to the Engliſh, without keeping their ranks, making uſe of bagpipes inſtead of trumpets. They fired at about twenty paces from the enemy, then threw down their muſquets, and holding their targets with

one hand over their heads, they ruſhed in between the infantry and the cavalry, ſtabbing the horſes, and attacking the ſoldiers with their ſabres.

Every thing that is new and unexpected terrifies. This unuſual way of fighting frightened the Engliſh. Strength of body, which is not at preſent of any uſe in other battles, was of great ſervice in this *. The Engliſh gave way on all ſides, without making any reſiſtance. Eight hundred were ſlain; the reſt fled to the place the Prince had noticed, and there fourteen hundred were taken priſoners. Every thing fell into the hands of the conqueror. He formed a body of cavalry with the horſes of the enemy's dragoons. General Cope was obliged to fly himſelf. The Nation murmured at him. He was tried by a court-martial for not concerting his meaſures properly, but he was acquitted; and it inconteſtibly appeared that the fate of the battle was owing to the preſence of a Prince who inſpired his party with unbounded confidence; but principally to the new manner of fighting, which aſtoniſhed the Engliſh. This is an advantage which almoſt always ſucceeds the firſt time, and which the commanders of armies perhaps do not ſufficiently attend to.

Charles-Edward did not loſe ſixty men in this engagement. The only difficulty attending his victory was, how to diſpoſe of his priſoners, who were nearly equal in number to their conquerors. Having no places of ſecurity, he releaſed them on their parole, after ſwearing them not to take up arms againſt him in the ſpace of twelve months. He only kept the wounded to take care of them; and this magnanimity gained him new adherents.

A few days after this victory a French and a Spaniſh ſhip arrived upon the coaſts, and brought him money and freſh hopes. There were ſome Iriſh officers in theſe veſſels, who had ſerved in France and in Spain, and were qualified to diſcipline his troops. The French veſſel brought him a private envoy † from the King of France,

* October 2, 1745.

† The brother of the Marquis d'Argens, well known in the literary world. He has ſince been Preſident of the Parliament of Aix. *Voltaire.*

who landed at the port of Montroſe on the 11th of October with money and arms. The Prince returned to Edinburgh, and ſaw his army ſoon after augmented to near ſix thouſand men. Order began to be eſtabliſhed as well among his troops as in his domeſtic affairs. He had a Court, Officers, and Secretaries of State, and was ſupplied with money from thirty miles round the country. No enemy appeared. But he wanted the caſtle of Edinburgh, the only place of real ſtrength, and which might ſerve him for a magazine, as well as for a retreat in caſe of neceſſity, beſides keeping the capital in awe. The caſtle of Edinburgh is built upon a ſteep rock: it has a large foſſé cut in the rock, and the walls are twelve feet thick. The place, although irregular in itſelf, requires a regular ſiege; and above all, heavy cannon. The Prince had not any. He therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity to permit the city to make an agreement with General Gueſt, by which the former engaged to ſupply the latter with proviſions, on condition that the caſtle ſhould not fire on the city.

This difficulty, however, did not ſeem to derange his affairs. The Court of London began to be greatly afraid of him, ſince it endeavoured to render him odious in the eyes of the people. It reproached him with being born a Roman Catholic, and of coming to overturn the religion and laws of the country. On his part, he continually proteſted that the Church of England and Preſbyterians ſhould have no more to fear from him, although born a Roman Catholic, than from King George, who was born a Lutheran. Not ſo much as a ſingle Prieſt appeared at his Court. He did not ſo much as require that they ſhould name him in the public prayers in the pariſh-churches; but contented himſelf with their uſing a general prayer for the King and the Royal Family, without indicating any perſon.

The King of England had returned in haſte on the 11th of September, to oppoſe the progreſs of the rebellion. The loſs of the battle of Preſton-pans alarmed him to ſuch a degree, that he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to reſiſt it with the Engliſh militia. Several of

the nobility raiſed regiments at their own expence in his favour; and the Whig party in particular, which is the prevailing one in England, made a point of preſerving the Government it had eſtabliſhed, and the Family it had placed on the throne. But the King reflecting that if Prince Edward ſhould receive freſh ſuccours, and have further ſucceſs, theſe very militia might turn againſt himſelf, he exacted a new oath from the militia of London. This oath of fidelity was couched in theſe very terms: "I abhor, I deteſt, I reject as an impious "opinion, that damnable doctrine, that Princes excom- "municated by the Pope may be depoſed and aſſaſſi- "nated by their ſubjects, or any other perſons what- "ever," &c. But there was no queſtion of excommunication nor of the Pope in this affair; and as for aſſaſſination, they could hardly apprehend any other but that which had been publicly propoſed with a reward of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling.

Sept. 14, 1745.

According to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in times of trouble ſince the reign of William III. all the Roman Catholic Prieſts were ordered to depart from London and its environs. But it was not the Popiſh Prieſts they had reaſon to dread: thoſe who profeſſed that religion did not make an hundredth part of the people. It was the valour of Prince Edward; it was the intrepidity of a victorious army animated by unexpected ſucceſs. The King was obliged to ſend for ſix thouſand of his troops from Flanders, and to demand ſix thouſand more of the Dutch, in virtue of treaties ſubſiſting with that Republic.

The States-General ſent him the very troops which by the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermond could not ſerve *(againſt France)* in leſs than eighteen months. They had promiſed not to engage in any ſervice, not even in the moſt diſtant places from the frontiers; but the States juſtified this infraction by ſaying, that England was not *a frontier*. They were obliged to lay down their arms before the French troops; but it was alledged, that they were not going to fight againſt the French. They were not to enter into any foreign ſervice. It was anſwered,

ſwered, that, in effect, they were not in any foreign ſervice, ſince they were ſubject to the orders, and received the pay, of the States-General.

By ſuch diſtinctions as theſe the capitulation, which was as much defined as poſſible, but in which a caſe that no one foreſaw could not be ſpecified, was eluded.

Although there happened at this time ſundry other great events, I ſhall purſue that of the commotion in England; and the order of affairs ſhall be preferred to the order of time, which will not ſuffer by it. Nothing ſerves to prove the ſtrength of alarms ſo much as an exceſs of precautions.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place, an artifice made uſe of to render the perſon of Charles-Edward odious in London. An imaginary Journal was printed, in which a compariſon was made between the events related in the News-papers under the government of King George, with thoſe which they ſuppoſed would be recorded in theſe Papers under the domination of a Catholic Prince.

"Now, ſaid they, our News-papers at one time give "us an account of the treaſures carried to the Bank, "which have been taken from the French and Spaniſh "ſhips; at another, that we have demoliſhed Porto-"Bello, that we have taken Louiſbourg, and are ma-"ſters of the commerce of the globe. But let us ſee "what the Papers will mention under the Adminiſtra-"tion of the Pretender. This day he was proclaimed "in the public ſtreets of London by Highlanders and "Friars. Several houſes have been burnt, and a num-"ber of citizens maſſacred.

"The 4th, The South-ſea-houſe and India-houſe were "converted into Convents.

"The 20th, Six Members of Parliament were ſent "to priſon.

"The 26th, Three of the ports of England were "delivered up to the French.

"The 28th, The law of Habeas Corpus was abo-"liſhed; and a new Act paſſed for burning Heretics.

" The 29th, Father Poignardini, an Italian Jeſuit, " was made Keeper of the Privy-ſeal."

In the mean time, the Habeas Corpus Act was actually ſuſpended on the 28th of October. This law is regarded as a fundamental one in England, and the bulwark of the freedom of the Nation. By this law the King cannot cauſe any citizen to be impriſoned longer than twenty-four hours, without being examined and releaſed, on giving bail, 'till his trial is ready; and if he has been arreſted unjuſtly, the Secretary of State may be made to pay dearly for every hour of his confinement.

The King has not a right to cauſe any Member of Parliament to be arreſted, on any pretence whatever, without the conſent of the Houſe. The Parliament in times of rebellion ſuſpends all theſe laws by a particular Act, and gives the King a power to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons during ſuch times only. No Member of either Houſe furniſhed the leaſt pretext for an arreſt. Some, however, were ſuſpected by the public to be Jacobites, and ſeveral of the citizens of London were tacitly of that party; but not one would hazard his life and fortune on uncertain hopes. Miſtruſt and inquietude agitated every mind: every one was afraid to ſpeak.

It is a crime in this country to drink the health of a proſcribed Prince who pretends to the crown, as it was formerly at Rome, under the reigning Emperor to keep the ſtatue of his competitor in their houſes. They drank at London to the health of the King and the Prince, which might as well mean King James and his ſon Prince Charles-Edward, as King George and his eldeſt ſon the Prince of Wales.

The ſecret abettors of the revolution contented themſelves with publiſhing writings ſo cautiouſly worded, that their party might eaſily underſtand them, while the Government could not condemn them. A great many of this ſort were diſtributed; and one among others in which it was advertiſed, " That there was a young man " of great expectations who was on the point of mak- " ing a conſiderable fortune; that in a ſhort time he " had

" had made twenty thouſand pounds, but was in want " of friends to eſtabliſh himſelf at London." The liberty of the preſs is one of thoſe privileges of which the Engliſh are extremely jealous. The law does not permit aſſembling and haranguing the people; but it allows of converſing with the whole Nation in writing. The Government cauſed all the printing-offices to be ſearched; but having no right to ſhut up any, except a crime is proved againſt them, they let them alone.

The conſternation was manifeſt at London, when the news arrived that Prince Edward had advanced to Carliſle, and had taken the town *; that his army increaſed; and at length that he was at Derby in England itſelf, about thirty leagues from London †. It was now that he had for the firſt time national Engliſhmen in his troops. Three hundred inhabitants of the County of Lancaſter enliſted into his Mancheſter regiment. Mean time report, which always augments things, made his army thirty thouſand ſtrong. It was rumoured that the whole County of Lancaſter had declared for him. The ſhops and the Bank at London were ſhut up for a whole day ‡.

* November 26.

† 'Tis 125 miles.

‡ This error cannot be paſſed over in ſilence. The conſternation indeed was very great when the news was brought to London, that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Derby, and on the point of marching forward to the capital; but terror was only viſible on the countenances, and expreſſed in the converſation of the inhabitants. Neither the public order nor tranquility of the City were diſturbed: the Bank and all public offices as well as tradeſmen's ſhops were open, and buſineſs tranſacted as uſual. The panic was even much greater on the day following, on Sunday; a report having been ſpread that the Roman Catholics in London, to favour the rebellion, had conſpired to riſe and maſſacre the Proteſtant inhabitants in the churches, in the time of divine ſervice. Some anonymous letters ambiguouſly mentioning the horrid plan were received, particularly by ſome of the principal houſekeepers in Spitalfields, which occaſioned the ſtationing large detachments of the City militia in the Church-yards of the principal Churches in London. *Tranſlator.*

CHAP. XXV.

Continuation of the Adventures of Prince Charles-Edward. His Defeat; his Misfortunes, and thoſe of his Party.

FROM the day that Prince Edward landed in Scotland, his friends ſolicited France for ſuccours in their enterprize; and the greater his progreſs, the more preſſing were their ſolicitations. Some Iriſh officers in the French ſervice were of opinion, that a deſcent into England towards Plymouth would be practicable. The paſſage from Calais or Boulogne to theſe coaſts is ſhort. They did not approve of a fleet of men of war for this expedition, as much time would be loſt in the equipment, and the preparations alone give the Engliſh ſquadrons timely notice to oppoſe their landing. They pretended that they could land eight or ten thouſand men with their cannon in the night; that only ſome merchant-ſhips and a few privateers were wanted for ſuch an attempt; and they maintained that a party in England would join the French army as ſoon as they were diſembarked, and that they might ſoon after unite with the Prince's troops near London. In ſhort, they repreſented it as an eaſy and complete revolution. They demanded the Duke de Richelieu to head this enterprize, who, by his ſignal ſervices at the battle of Fontenoy, and the great reputation he had in Europe, was better qualified than any other General for conducting with proper ſpirit this bold and tickliſh affair. They intreated ſo much, that at laſt their demand was granted. Colonel Lally, who was afterwards Lieutenant-General, and came to ſo tragical an end, was the ſoul of this enterprize. The Writer of this Hiſtory, who was connected with him a long time, can affirm, that he never ſaw a man more zealous, and that his failure in this enterprize aroſe only from its impracticability. They could not put openly to ſea in the face of the Engliſh ſquadrons, ſo ſtrictly

were

were the coaſts guarded; and this project was regarded in a very ridiculous light in London.

Some ſmall ſuccours only of men and money could be ſent over to the Prince, and that by the way of the German Ocean, and the eaſt of Scotland. Lord Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, an officer in the French ſervice, opportunely arrived with ſome piquets, and three companies of the Royal Scotch regiment. When he landed at Montroſe he immediately publiſhed, "That "he was come by order of the King of France to ſuc- "cour his ally the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scot- "land, and to make war againſt the King of England, "Elector of Hanover." Then the Dutch troops, who by their capitulation could not ſerve againſt the King of France, were forced to adhere to the law of arms, which had been a long time eluded; they were therefore ſent back to Holland, and the Engliſh Court ſent for ſix thouſand Heſſians in their place. This neceſſity for foreign troops was a confeſſion of the danger in which they thought themſelves. The Pretender diſtributed freſh manifeſtoes in the north and in the weſt of England, by which he invited the Nation to join him, declaring that the priſoners of war ſhould be treated as his own men; and expreſsly renewed to his officers his prohibition of attempting the life of the reigning King, or of any of his family. Theſe proclamations, which appeared ſo generous in a Prince on whoſe head a reward had been ſet, met with a fate which nothing but ſtate-policy can juſtify:—they were burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

It was of more importance and more urgent to oppoſe the progreſs of the Pretender than to burn his manifeſtoes. The Engliſh militia re-took Edinburgh; and covering the County of Lancaſter, cut off his ſupplies, which obliged him to retreat. His army was ſometimes ſtrong, ſometimes weak, becauſe he had not the means of retaining it conſtantly under his ſtandard by an exact payment; yet about eight thouſand men ſtill remained with him. Scarcely was the Prince informed that the enemy was within ſix miles of him, near Falkirk marſhes,

marſhes, than he flew to attack them *, although they were almoſt double in numbers, engaging in the ſame manner, and with the ſame impetuoſity, as at Preſton-pans. His Highlanders, ſeconded by a violent ſtorm, which blew directly in the faces of the Engliſh, threw them into diſorder at firſt; but ſoon after they were broke themſelves by their own impetuoſity. Six piquets of the French troops covered them, maintained the battle, and gave them time to rally. Prince Edward always ſaid, that if he had had only three thouſand regular troops, he ſhould have made himſelf maſter of all England.

The Engliſh dragoons began the flight, and the whole army followed, regardleſs of the commands of the Generals and officers, and regained their camp in the duſk of the evening, which was entrenched, and almoſt ſurrounded by a moraſs.

The Prince remaining maſter of the field of battle, inſtantly took the reſolution of attacking them in their camp, notwithſtanding the ſtorm, which continued with redoubled violence. The Highlanders loſt ſome time in finding their muſquets in the dark, which, according to cuſtom, they had thrown away in the action. The Prince then began the march with them to give a ſecond battle, and penetrated, ſword-in-hand, almoſt to the enemy's camp. Univerſal terror prevailed, and the Engliſh troops, beaten twice in one day *, although with little loſs, fled to Edinburgh, having not quite ſix hundred men killed in theſe actions, but left their tents and baggage in the conqueror's power. Theſe victories greatly redounded to the Prince's honour, but contributed little to his intereſt. The Duke of Cumberland marched into Scotland, and arrived the 10th of February at Edinburgh. Prince Edward was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Stirling-Caſtle. The winter was extremely ſevere, and ſubſiſtence failed. His chief reſource was in the aſſiſtance of a few friends, who made excurſions ſometimes on the ſide of Inverneſs, and at others towards Aberdeen, to collect the few troops and the little money that they run the hazard to ſupply him

* January 28, 1746.

him with from France. The largeſt of theſe veſſels ſent to him with ſuccours were watched and taken by the Engliſh fleet. Three companies of Fitz-James's regiment luckily found means to eſcape and land. Whenever a little veſſel arrived, it was received by the inhabitants of the North with the loudeſt acclamations of joy. The women ran to meet the troops, and led the officers horſes by their bridles. The ſmalleſt ſuccours in theſe circumſtances were reported to be conſiderable reinforcements; but his army was not leſs preſſed by the Duke of Cumberland. They were retired into Inverneſs, and all the country did not ſide with him. The Duke at laſt croſſed the river Spey *, and marched towards Inverneſs, and a deciſive battle could not be avoided.

The Prince had nearly the ſame number of troops as at the battle of Falkirk; and the Duke of Cumberland had fifteen battalions and nine ſquadrons, beſides a body of Highlanders. The advantage in point of numbers was always neceſſarily on the ſide of the Engliſh, who had alſo a cavalry and an artillery well ſerved, which were ſtill greater advantages; and they were at laſt accuſtomed to the Highlanders manner of fighting, which no longer intimidated them. They had likewiſe to repair under the eyes of the Duke the ſhame of their former defeats. The Duke gained the battle by making every other rank reſerve their fire; ſo that after the Rebels had fired and flung down their muſquets, they cloſed-in with their broad-ſwords as uſual, and were received by the Duke's troops with a reſerved fire, when they advanced up to the very muzzles of their guns: it was great generalſhip. The two armies came in ſight of each other on the 27th of April, 1746, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at a place called Culloden. The Highlanders did not make the attack with their uſual impetuoſity. The battle was entirely loſt; and the Prince, ſlightly wounded, was carried off the field in the moſt precipitate manner. Time and place conſtitute the importance of an action. In the preſent war, in Germany, in Italy, and in Flanders, we have ſeen battles fought with one hundred thouſand men which had no great

* April 23, 1746.

great conſequences; but here an action between only eleven thouſand on one ſide, and about ſeven or eight on the other, decided the fate of three Kingdoms. In this engagement not more than nine hundred of the Rebels (the appellation which their miſcarriage fixed on them even in Scotland) were ſlain, and three hundred and twenty made priſoners. They all fled to the neighbourhood of Inverneſs, and were purſued by the conquerors. The Pretender, accompanied by an hundred officers, was obliged to leap into a river three miles from Inverneſs, and to ſwim over it. When he had gained the other ſide, he ſaw afar off the flames of a barn, in which periſhed between five and ſix hundred Highlanders, the conqueror having ſet fire to it; and he heard their cries.

Prince Edward had ſeveral women in his army. One among the reſt, whoſe name was Madame Seaford, fought at the head of the Scotch troops ſhe brought to his aſſiſtance, and eſcaped the purſuit; but four others were taken. All the French officers were made priſoners of war; and he who tranſacted the buſineſs of French Miniſter to the Prince, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner at Inverneſs. The Engliſh had only fifty men killed, and two hundred and fifty-nine wounded, in this deciſive affair.

The Duke of Cumberland diſtributed five thouſand pounds ſterling (making about one hundred and twenty thouſand French livres) to the ſoldiers. This was money he had received from the Lord-Mayor of London. It was the contribution of ſome citizens, and had been preſented to him for this very purpoſe. This ſingularity is a farther teſtimony that the richeſt party muſt be victorious. Not a moment's repoſe was given to the vanquiſhed; for they were every where cloſely purſued. The common ſoldiers eaſily retired to their inacceſſible mountains and deſarts. The officers found it more difficult to eſcape. Some were betrayed and delivered up to the conqueror; others ſurrendered in hopes of a pardon.

Prince Edward, Sullivan, Sheridan, and ſome others of his adherents, retired at firſt to the ruins of Fort Auguſtus, which they were ſoon obliged to quit. The

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farther he retreated, the more he obſerved the decreaſe of his friends. A ſpirit of diſcord ſeized them, and they reproached each other with their common misfortunes. In all diſputes concerning the meaſures they ſhould take, they exaſperated each other. Several of them withdrew; and of all thoſe who accompanied him from France, only Sheridan and Sullivan remained with him.

With them he marched five days and nights without taking one moment's repoſe, and often wanting nouriſhment. His enemies traced him. All the environs were filled with ſoldiers upon the ſearch after him; and the price ſet upon his head redoubled their diligence. The horrors of his fate entirely reſembled that to which his great-uncle Charles II. was reduced after the battle of Worceſter, as fatal as that of Culloden. There has been no example upon earth of ſuch a chain of calamities ſo ſingular and horrible as thoſe which had afflicted all his Houſe. He himſelf was born in exile; and he quitted it only to bring his party, after ſome victories, either to the ſcaffold, or to the neceſſity of hiding themſelves in the mountains. His father, driven in his infancy from the royal palace, and from the throne of which he had been acknowledged the lawful heir, had, like him, made ſeveral efforts to regain his throne, which had all terminated in the deſtruction of his followers. All this long ſucceſſion of ſingular misfortunes continually preſented itſelf to the mind of this Prince; yet he did not deſpair. He marched on foot, without having his wounds dreſſed, without ſuccours, through the midſt of his enemies, and arrived at laſt in a little port named Arizaig, in the North-weſt of Scotland.

Fortune at this moment ſeemed to adminiſter comfort to him. Two privateers of Nantz ſailed towards this port, and brought him men, money, and proviſions; but before they had landed, the continual ſearches made after his perſon obliged him to quit that only ſpot where then he might have found ſafety; and they were but a few miles from the port, when he was informed that theſe veſſels had anchored and ſet ſail again. His loſing

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this opportunity aggravated his misfortunes. He was continually obliged to fly and to ſecrete himſelf. O'Neal, one of his partizans, an Iriſh officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, who had joined him in theſe cruel circumſtances, told him, that he might find a ſafe retreat in a little neighbouring Iſle called Stornaway, the laſt Iſland to the North-eaſt of Scotland. They embarked in a fiſhing-boat, and arrived at this aſylum; but they were ſcarcely on ſhore when they underſtood that a detachment of the Duke of Cumberland's army was in the Iſland. The Prince and his friends were obliged to paſs the night in a moor, to elude ſo cloſe a purſuit; and at break of day ventured to re-enter their boat, and put out to ſea without any proviſions, or knowing what courſe to ſteer. They had hardly rowed two miles, when they were ſurrounded by the enemy's fleet.

Their only means of preſervation was to run a-ground between the rocks, upon the borders of an almoſt inacceſſible little deſart Iſland. What at other times would have been regarded as the moſt cruel misfortune, was to them their only reſource. They hid their boat behind a rock, and in this deſart waited either the departure of the Engliſh fleet, or the arrival of death, to put a finiſhing ſtroke to ſuch a complication of diſaſters. Nothing was left the Prince, his friends, and the ſailors, but a little brandy to ſuſtain their miſerable lives; but by chance they found ſome dried fiſh which the fiſhermen, driven off by ſtorms, had left upon the ſhore. When the Engliſh fleet diſappeared, they rowed from Iſle to Iſle, and at laſt gained that very Iſland of Wiſt on which he had firſt landed upon his arrival from France. Here he found a little ſuccour and repoſe. But this ſmall conſolation laſted him not long, the Duke of Cumberland's troops arriving at this new aſylum in about three days after him; and death or captivity appeared inevitable. He with his two companions ſecreted themſelves three days and three nights in a cave, and thought themſelves happy to eſcape, and embark for another deſart Iſle, where they remained eight days upon ſome proviſions of barley-bread, brandy, and a few ſalt-fiſh.

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To depart this Iſland, and endeavour to regain Scotland, was to run the riſk of falling into the hands of the Engliſh, who lined the ſea-coaſt; but they muſt either hazard this, or periſh with hunger.

They then put to ſea, and landed in the night, wandering upon the ſhore, having nothing to cover them but the torn rags of the Highland habit. At break of day they met with a lady on horſeback, followed by a young domeſtic, and ventured to ſpeak to her. This lady was of the family of the Macdonalds, which was ſtrongly attached to the Stuarts. The Prince, who had ſeen her in his proſperity, knew her again, and diſcovered himſelf, when ſhe immediately threw herſelf at his feet. The Prince, his companions, and Miſs Macdonald, ſhed tears; and thoſe which ſhe let fall on this extraordinary and affecting interview, were redoubled by the peril in which ſhe ſaw the Prince. Every ſtep they advanced they were in danger of being taken; and ſhe adviſed him to hide himſelf in a cave which ſhe ſhewed him at the foot of a mountain, near the cottage of a Highlander who was known by her, and in whom ſhe could confide, promiſing to come herſelf and take him from this retirement, or ſend ſome truſty perſon who ſhould take charge of his ſafe conduct.

Prince Edward with his faithful friends were again forced to enter a cavern, the peaſant furniſhing them with a little barley-flour mixed with water. But they loſt all hope, when, after having paſſed two days in this ſhocking ſituation, no perſon came to their ſuccour. All the environs were ſtrictly watched by the militia, and theſe unhappy fugitives had nothing left to ſubſiſt on. A cruel diſorder weakened the Prince: his body was covered with ulcerated boils. This condition, with what he had already ſuffered, and what he had to fear, filled up the meaſure of the moſt horrid miſery that human nature could endure; but he was not yet arrived at the end of his ſufferings.

Miſs Macdonald ſent at laſt a meſſenger to the cave, who informed them, that a retreat to the Continent was impoſſible; that they muſt again fly into another little

Iſland

Iſland called Benbecula, and take refuge there in the houſe of a poor gentleman which the guide would ſhew them; that Miſs Macdonald would meet them there, and conſult with them upon what methods were moſt proper to be taken for their ſafety. The ſame boat which brought them here tranſported them to this Iſland; and upon their landing, they went immediately to this gentleman's houſe, and the lady embarked ſome miles diſtance to come to the rendezvous. But no ſooner were they arrived than they learned that the gentleman with whom they had hoped to find an aſylum, had been carried off in the night-time, with all his family. The Prince and his friends once more concealed themſelves in the marſhes. At laſt, O'Neal ventured from his concealment, and found Miſs Macdonald in a little cottage. She told him ſhe could ſave the Prince by dreſſing him in the cloaths of a maid-ſervant which ſhe had brought with her; but ſhe could not undertake to conceal any more than him, for that more than one perſon would give cauſe of ſuſpicion. Theſe two faithful friends, preferring the ſafety of their Prince to their own welfare, parted with him in tears, and he followed Miſs Macdonald in a ſervant's dreſs, taking the name of Betty. Notwithſtanding this diſguiſe, dangers ſtill threatened him, and he fled for refuge with this lady to the Iſle of Sky, lying to the weſt of Scotland.

They were in a gentleman's houſe when it was ſuddenly inveſted with the enemy's troops. The Prince himſelf opened the door to the ſoldiers, and had the good luck not to be diſcovered by them; but preſently after it was known in the Iſland that he had been in this houſe. It then became neceſſary for him to ſeparate from Miſs Macdonald, and abandon himſelf alone to his deſtiny. He walked ten leagues, attended only by a ſingle waterman. At laſt, preſſed by hunger, and ready to ſink, he hazarded the entering into a houſe, the maſter of which he well knew to be not of his party. "The ſon of your "King (ſaid he) is come to demand bread and cloaths "of you. I know you are my enemy; but I believe "you have virtue enough not to abuſe my confidence

"and

" and my misfortunes. Take theſe miſerable garments " I now wear, and keep them; one day or other you may " bring them to me in the palace of the Kings of Great- " Britain." The gentleman to whom he addreſſed himſelf was affected, as well he might. He rendered him all the aſſiſtance which the poverty of this country would admit of, and kept his ſecret *.

From hence he once more regained Scotland, and ſhewed himſelf to the Clan of Morar, which was well affected to him. He wandered afterwards through Lochabar and Badenoch. Here he was informed that his benefactreſs, Miſs Macdonald, and almoſt all who had favoured him, were arreſted; and ſaw a liſt of all his partizans who were condemned for contumacy, which in England is called *An Act of Attainder* †. He was always in danger himſelf; and the only news which he heard, was of the impriſonment of his friends, for whom death was preparing.

A report now prevailed in France that the Prince was in the hands of his enemies. His Agents at Verſailles, alarmed, implored the King to permit his Miniſter at leaſt to write in his favour. The number of Engliſh priſoners of war in France inſpired the officers of the Pretender with hopes, that this conſideration might reſtrain the vengeance of the Engliſh Court, and prevent that effuſion of blood which they expected to be ſhed on the ſcaffold. The Marquis d'Argenſon, at that time Miniſter for foreign affairs, and brother to the Secretary at War, addreſſed himſelf to Monſ. Van Hoey, Ambaſſador from the United Provinces, and entreated him to become a mediator. Theſe two Miniſters agreed in a principle which diſtinguiſhed them from moſt Stateſmen.

* N. B. There were thirty thouſand pounds offered for his head. Why is not his name mentioned? It would be an ornament to Hiſtory. *Tranſlator.*

† Contumacy is not an Act of Attainder; though ſuch a Bill may be framed upon that or any other miſdemeanor. Contumacy, in Law, is only a contempt ſhewn to every order iſſued from a Court or any ſuperior juriſdiction; and the concealing and aſſiſting of any proclaimed perſon is of this nature. *Ibid.*

They made uſe of ſincerity and humanity, where others employed little elſe but policy.

The Ambaſſador Van Hoey wrote directly a long letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, then Secretary of State, in theſe terms: "May you baniſh this pernicious art "which diſcord has brought forth to excite mankind to "a mutual deſtruction of each other! Miſerable notions "of policy, which ſubſtitute vengeance, hatred, jea-"louſy, and avidity, to thoſe divine precepts which "conſtitute the glory of Kings, and the welfare of their "ſubjects."

This exhortation ſeemed in its ſubſtance and expreſſions to be adapted to other times than ours. It was ſtiled a homily. Inſtead of ſoftening the King of England, it provoked him. He complained to the States-General of the behaviour of their Ambaſſador, who had dared to ſend him remonſtrances from a King who was his enemy, concerning his conduct towards his rebellious ſubjects. The Duke of Newcaſtle wrote, that it was an unprecedented proceeding. The States ſtrongly reprimanded their Ambaſſador; ordered him to make his excuſes to the Duke, and to repair his fault. The Ambaſſador, convinced that he had not been guilty of any, yet obeyed, and wrote to the Duke, "That if he had "erred, it was the inſeparable lot of human nature." He might have failed with regard to the laws of policy, but not to thoſe of humanity. The Engliſh Miniſtry and the States-General ought to have been ſenſible how far the King of France had a right to intercede for the Scotch. They ought to have recollected, that when Louis XIII. had taken Rochelle, which was in vain ſuccoured by the naval army of King James I. the Engliſh Monarch ſent the Chevalier Montagu to the King of France to implore his mercy in behalf of the Rochelle rebels; and that his interceſſions were regarded. The Engliſh Miniſtry had not the ſame clemency.

The Government now endeavoured to render Prince Charles deſpicable in the eyes of the people, becauſe he had been formidable. The ſtandards which had been taken at Culloden were publicly carried through Edinburgh;

burgh; the hangman bearing that belonging to the Prince; the others being borne by chimney-ſweepers; and the executioner burnt them all together in the market-place. This farce was the prelude of thoſe bloody tragedies which enſued.

On the 10th of Auguſt, 1746, ſeventeen officers were executed, the moſt conſiderable of whom was the Colonel of the Mancheſter regiment, named Townley. He was drawn, with eight other officers, on ſledges, to Kennington-Common, near London, which was the place of execution; and after they had hanged them, they plucked out their hearts, flung them in their faces, and cut their bodies in quarters. This method of puniſhment is a remnant of ancient barbariſm. Formerly, the criminals hearts were torn out when they were yet breathing; but now, this bloody action is done after they are ſtrangled. Their death is leſs cruel; and preſerving this barbarous ſolemnity which is added to it, ſerves to terrify the populace. There was not one of theſe unhappy men who ſuffered but proteſted that he died in a juſt cauſe, and ſtrenuouſly excited the people to perſiſt in it. Two days after, three Scotch Peers were condemned to be beheaded *.

It is known that the laws of England conſider none as nobility but Lords; that is to ſay, the Peers. They are tried for the crime of high-treaſon in a manner different from the reſt of the Nation. At their trial, a Peer is choſen to preſide as judge, who bears the title of Lord-High-Steward of the Kingdom. This title nearly correſponds with that of Grand Seneſchal. The Peers of Great-Britain on theſe occaſions receive his orders. By letters under his own ſeal, written in Latin, they are ſummoned to aſſemble in the great Hall at Weſtminſter. He muſt have at leaſt twelve Peers of accord with him, to enable him to pronounce judgment. This ſeſſions is held in the moſt ſolemn manner. The Lord-High-Steward ſits under a canopy, and the Clerk of the Crown delivers his commiſſion to a King at Arms, who preſents

* Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty.

it upon his knees. Six mace-bearers always attend him, and wait at the doors of his coach on his going in or coming out of the Hall. He is paid a hundred guineas each day during the continuance of the trial. When the accuſed Peers are brought before him and the other Peers their judges, a Serjeant at Arms cries three times *Oyez*, in the old French language. A Serjeant of the Court carries before them an axe, the edge turned towards the High-Steward; and when ſentence of death is pronounced, it is turned towards the criminal.

With theſe melancholy ceremonies the Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty, were conducted to Weſtminſter-Hall. The Lord-Chancellor performed the office of High-Steward. They were all three convicted of having borne arms for the Pretender, and condemned according to law to be hanged and quartered *. The Lord-Steward, who pronounced their ſentence, informed them at the ſame time, that the King, by virtue of his royal prerogative, changed their puniſhment into that of being beheaded. Lady Cromarty, who had already eight children, and was big with the ninth, went with her family and proſtrated herſelf at the King's feet, and obtained pardon for her huſband.

The two others were executed †. Kilmarnock on the ſcaffold ſhewed ſigns of repentance. Balmerino behaved with unſhaken intrepidity, and went to death in the regimentals under which he had fought. The Governor of the Tower having, according to cuſtom, cried, "Long live King George!" Balmerino anſwered with an elevated voice, "Long live King James and his "worthy ſon!" and died braving death as he had braved his judges.

Executions were almoſt daily ſpectacles, and the priſons were filled with impeached perſons. A Secretary of Prince Edward, named Murray, preſerved his life by diſcloſing ſuch ſecrets as convinced the King of the danger he had eſcaped. He diſcovered, that both in London and in the Counties there was a concealed party, and that they had furniſhed the Prince with large

* Auguſt 12, 1746. † Auguſt 29.

ſums of money. But whether theſe informations were not ſufficiently circumſtantiated; or rather, whether the Government were fearful of irritating the Nation by too cloſe reſearches; they contented themſelves with proſecuting thoſe only who were taken in open rebellion. Ten were executed at York, ten at Carliſle, and forty-ſeven at London; and in the month of November, every twentieth man of all the inferior officers and ſoldiers were drawn by lot and ſuffered death, and the reſt were tranſported to the Colonies. In the ſame month alſo, ſeventy were executed at Penrith, at Brumpton, and at York, ten at Carliſle, and nine at London. An Engliſh Prieſt who was imprudent enough to aſk of Prince Edward the Biſhoprick of Carliſle, at the time he was in poſſeſſion of that city, was led to the gallows and executed in his pontifical habit. He harangued the people with vehemence in favour of the family of King James, and prayed to God for all thoſe who had periſhed like him in this quarrel.

But of all theſe unhappy ſufferers, the fate of Lord Derwentwater ſeemed moſt to be lamented. His eldeſt brother was beheaded at London in 1715, for having fought in the ſame cauſe. He had his ſon brought upon the ſcaffold, though an infant, and addreſſed him in theſe terms: "Be covered with my blood, and learn to die "for your Kings." His youngeſt brother, who had eſcaped at that time and entered into the French ſervice, was included in the ſame condemnation. As ſoon as he knew that he could be uſeful to Prince Edward, he ſet out for England; but the veſſel in which he embarked with his ſon and ſeveral officers, provided with arms and money, was taken by the Engliſh. He ſuffered the ſame death as his brother, and with the ſame firmneſs, ſaying, "The King of France would take care of his "ſon;" who not being an Engliſh ſubject, was releaſed, and returned to France, where the King made good his father's expectations, by giving him and his ſiſter a penſion.

The laſt Peer who ſuffered by the hands of the executioner was Lord Lovat; a man of eighty years of age.

It was he who was the firſt mover of the enterprize. He had laid the foundation of it ever ſince the year 1740. The chief malcontents uſed to aſſemble privately at his houſe. He engaged to raiſe the Clans when Prince Charles-Edward embarked in 1743. He employed all the chicanery of the law to defend a remnant of life which he loſt at laſt on the ſcaffold; but he died with as much greatneſs of ſoul as he had ſhewn dexterity and fineſſe in his conduct. He pronounced aloud this verſe of Horace before he received the ſtroke:

Dulce et decorum eſt pro patriâ mori.

But the moſt ſtrange event, and ſuch as is ſcarcely to be met with out of England, was, that a young ſtudent of Oxford, named Painter, devoted to the Jacobite party, and intoxicated with that fanaticiſm which produces ſo many extraordinary things in fiery imaginations, requeſted to ſuffer in the place of this old man. He made the moſt preſſing entreaties, to which no regard was paid *. This young man did not perſonally know Lord Lovat; but he knew that he had been the chief of the conſpiracy, and he looked upon him as a reſpectable and neceſſary man.

The Government joined to paſt vengeance future precautions. An embodied militia was kept up towards the frontiers of Scotland. The Scotch Lairds were deprived of their hereditary juriſdictions, which attached their Clans to them; and the Chiefs who had remained faithful to Government, were indemnified by penſions and other advantages.

The Court of France, in its ſolicitude for the fate of Prince Edward, had ſent out two ſmall frigates in the month of June, which happily arrived on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, where the Prince had landed at the beginning of this unfortunate enterprize. He was ſought for in vain in this country, and in ſeveral neighbouring Iſles

* Nor could they. Our laws admit of no vicarious atonements. We cannot perform penances for one another, as they do under papal juriſdiction. *Tranſlator.*

of

of the coaſt of Lochabar. At length, on the 29th of September, the Prince arrived by unfrequented roads, and through a thouſand new perils, at the place where he was expected. What is aſtoniſhing, and proves that all hearts were with him, is, that the Engliſh were not appriſed, neither of the arrival of theſe veſſels, nor of their ſtay, nor of their departure.

They brought the Prince within ſight of Breſt; but they found an Engliſh fleet oppoſite that port. They then ſtood out to ſea again, and returned afterwards upon the coaſt of Britany, on the ſide of Morlaix. Here they found another Engliſh fleet. They hazarded paſſing thro' the enemy's ſhips; and at laſt, after ſo many dangers and misfortunes, the Prince got ſafe into the port of St. Paul de Leon, on the 10th of October, 1746, with ſome few of his partizans who had like him eſcaped the vigilance of the conquerors. Thus ended an adventure which, in times of knight-errantry, might have proved fortunate; but could not be expected to ſucceed in an age when military diſcipline, artillery, and above all money, in the end decides every thing.

While Prince Edward had been wandering up and down in the iſles and mountains of Scotland, and ſcaffolds had been prepared every where for his adherents, his conqueror, the Duke of Cumberland, was received in triumph at London. The Parliament ſettled an annuity on him of twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum, which is about five hundred thouſand livres of France, beſides his former revenue. The Engliſh Nation performs itſelf what Sovereigns do elſewhere.

Charles-Edward was not yet at the end of his calamities; for having taken refuge in France, and finding himſelf obliged to leave that country to ſatisfy the Engliſh, who inſiſted on it in the treaty of peace, his courage, grown deſperate by ſo many ſhocks, refuſed to yield to the neceſſity of the times. He reſiſted remonſtrances, intreaties, and commands, pleading that the promiſe ought to be obſerved which had been made never to abandon him. They were obliged to ſeize on his perſon. He was arreſted, pinioned, thrown into priſon, and

conducted out of France. This was the finiſhing ſtroke to the misfortunes with which Fate had oppreſſed a race of Kings for three hundred years.

Charles-Edward from this time concealed himſelf from all the world. Let private perſons, who repine at their little misfortunes, read the hiſtory of this Prince and his anceſtors *!

CHAP. XXVI.

The King of France failing in his Attempt to reſtore Peace, gains the Battle of Laufeld. Bergen-op-zoom taken by Aſſault. The Ruſſians at laſt march to the Aſſiſtance of the Allies.

WHILE this fatal ſcene was tranſacting in England, Louis XV. completed his conqueſts. Unfortunate in all parts where he was not preſent, and victorious in every enterprize in which he accompanied Marſhal Saxe, he continually urged a pacification neceſſary for all the parties, who had now no longer any pretence left for deſtroying each other. It did not appear to be the intereſt of the new Stadtholder to continue the war at the commencement of an authority not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and which was not ſupported by any fixed ſtipend. But the public animoſity againſt the Court of France was carried ſo far, and the ancient jealouſies were ſo inveterate, that a Deputy of the States, when he preſented the Stadtholder to the States-General, on the day of his inſtallation, ſaid in his ſpeech, "That "the Republic ſtood in need of a Chief, againſt an am-

* All theſe circumſtances were written in 1748, under the direction of a perſon who accompanied the Prince a conſiderable time, both in his proſperities and adverſities.

The Hiſtory of this Prince properly falls in with the memoirs of the war 1741. But it has entirely eſcaped the reſearches of thoſe who have pirated, diſfigured, and ſold a part of that manuſcript.

Voltaire.

"bitious

"bitious and perfidious neighbour, who made a jeſt of "the faith of treaties:"—ſtrange expreſſions, while they were yet negotiating; and for which Louis XV. took no other revenge than not to make any ill uſe of his victories; which ought to appear ſtill more ſurpriſing.

This violent rancour was univerſally fomented by the Court of Vienna, which conſtantly reſented the attempt made to ſtrip Maria-Thereſa of her hereditary dominions, in violation of the faith of treaties. Louis had repented of this procedure; but the Allies were not ſatisfied with this. The Court of London, during the conferences at Breda, intrigued with all Europe to raiſe new enemies againſt him.

At length the Miniſtry of George II. produced a formidable ſuccour from the extremities of the North. Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of the Czar Peter I. and Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, ordered fifty thouſand men to march into Livonia, and promiſed to equip fifty galleys*. This armament was to be at the abſolute diſpoſal of the King of England, on the payment of only one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. It coſt four times as much for the eighteen thouſand Hanoverians who ſerved in the Engliſh army. This treaty, which had been concerted long before, could not be concluded until the month of June, 1747.

There had been no example hitherto, of ſo great a ſuccour coming from ſo diſtant a quarter; and nothing could be a ſtronger proof that Czar Peter the Great, in changing the face of affairs throughout his extenſive dominions, had laid the foundation of great alterations in the politics of Europe. But while the very extremes of the earth were thus excited againſt the King of France, his conqueſts increaſed. Dutch Flanders was taken as rapidly as the other places had been. The grand object with Marſhal Saxe always was, the conqueſt of Maeſtricht. This is not one of thoſe places which might

* Marſhal Saxe is reported to have ſaid, *en Gaſconade*, upon this occaſion, "I'm glad they are coming, for 'twas quite out of our "way to go look for them." *Tranſlator.*

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be eaſily taken by a victorious army, like moſt of the towns in Italy. After the poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, it was deſigned to have attacked Nimeguen; and in that caſe it is not to be doubted but the Dutch would have ſued for peace before a ſingle Ruſſian could have come to their aſſiſtance: but Maeſtricht could not be beſieged 'till a conſiderable battle had been fought and completely gained.

The King was at the head of his army, and the Allies were encamped between him and the city. The Duke of Cumberland ſtill commanded them. Marſhal Bathiani conducted the Auſtrians, and the Prince of Waldeck the Hollanders.

The King choſe to engage; Marſhal Saxe made the diſpoſition *; and the event was the ſame as at the battle of Liege. The French were conquerors; but the Allies were not ſo completely routed, that the grand object of the ſiege of Maeſtricht could be accompliſhed. They retired under the cannon of this city after being beaten, and left Louis XV. not only the glory of a ſecond victory, but the full liberty of purſuing all his operations in Dutch Brabant. The Engliſh troops ſignalized themſelves again in this battle, by making the braveſt reſiſtance. Marſhal Saxe himſelf charged them at the head of ſome brigades. The French loſt the Count de Baviere, natural-brother of the late Emperor Charles VII.; the Marquis de Froulai, a Field-Marſhal, and a moſt promiſing young man; Colonel Dillon, a name in high repute with the Iriſh Brigades; Brigadier Erlach, an excellent officer; the Marquis d'Autichamp, and the Count d'Aubeterre, the brother of him who was killed at the ſiege of Bruſſels. The number of the ſlain was conſiderable. The Marquis de Bonac, whoſe father had acquired great reputation as an Ambaſſador, loſt a leg. The young Marquis de Segur had an arm taken off. He had lain at the point of death for a long time with the wound he had formerly received, and had but juſt recovered, when this new diſaſter reduced him to the ſame condition. The King ſaid to the Count de Segur, his father, "Your ſon "merited to be invulnerable." The loſs was nearly equal

* July 2, 1747.

on both ſides. Between five and ſix thouſand men killed or wounded on each part ſignalized this day. The King of France made it famous by his ſpeech to General Ligonier, who was brought to him a priſoner: "Would it not be better (ſaid the King to him) to "think ſeriouſly of peace, than to deſtroy ſo many "brave men?" This General Officer of the Engliſh army was born his ſubject, and the King placed him at his table; but natives of Scotland, though officers in the French ſervice, had been put to an ignominious death in England for the unfortunate enterprize of Prince Charles-Edward *.

After every victory, after every conqueſt, Louis XV. always proffered peace, but in vain; he was not liſtened to. The Allies depended on the ſuccour of the Ruſſians; on their ſucceſs in Italy; on the alteration in the government of Holland, which would give-birth to new armies; on the Circles of the Empire; and on the ſuperiority of the Engliſh fleets, which conſtantly menaced the poſſeſſions of France in Aſia and America.

The fruit of this victory was ſtill wanting. It was reſolved to lay ſiege to Bergen-op-zoom; a place deemed impregnable, leſs on account of its being the maſterpiece of the celebrated engineer Cohorn, than becauſe it was continually ſupplied with ammunition and all kinds of neceſſaries by the river Scheld, which forms an arm of the ſea behind it. Beſides theſe advantages, and a numerous garriſon, there were lines near the fortifications, and in theſe lines a body of troops which could at every inſtant relieve the town.

Of all the ſieges that had ever been formed, this perhaps was the moſt difficult. The conduct of it was given to Count de Lowendhal, who had already taken part of Dutch Brabant. This General, a native of Denmark, had been in the Ruſſian ſervice. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the aſſaults of Oczakow, when

* This is an unfair and invidious compariſon. An open war and a clandeſtine rebellion are very different caſes, and ſo diſtinguiſhed in the Law of Nations. *Tranſlator.*

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the Ruſſians forced the Janiſſaries in that city. He ſpoke almoſt all the languages of Europe; he knew all its Courts, their politics, the genius of the ſeveral inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at laſt given the preference to the French ſervice, into which, through the friendſhip of Marſhal Saxe, he was received in the rank of Lieutenant-General.

The French and the Allies, the beſieged and even the beſiegers themſelves, all thought the enterprize would fail. Lowendhal was almoſt the only perſon who ſeemed to think the ſucceſs certain. Every meaſure was taken by the Allies; the garriſon was reinforced; proviſions of all ſorts arrived by the Scheld; the artillery was well ſerved; the beſieged made ſeveral ſallies; attacks were made by a conſiderable body of troops which protected the lines near the city, and mines were ſprung in ſeveral places. A ſickneſs amongſt the beſiegers, encamped on an unwholeſome ſpot, ſeconded the reſiſtance of the garriſon. Theſe contagious diſorders rendered more than twenty thouſand of the French army incapable of ſervice; but their place was eaſily ſupplied. At laſt, after three weeks open trenches, Count Lowendhal demonſtrated that there are occaſions when it is neceſſary to go beyond the eſtabliſhed rules of art. The breaches were not yet practicable; but there were three works ſlightly damaged, the ravelin of Edem, and two baſtions, one of which was called the Maiden, and the other the Cohorn. The General reſolved to carry the town by an aſſault on theſe three places at once *.

The French in regular engagements often find their equals, and ſometimes their maſters, in the art of war; but they have no rivals in thoſe coups-de-main, and in thoſe rapid enterprizes, where impetuoſity, agility, and ardour, ſurmount all obſtacles. The troops having received their orders in whiſpers, and all being ready in the dead of the night, when the beſieged thought themſelves in ſecurity, they deſcended into the foſſée and ran to the three breaches. Twelve grenadiers alone made themſelves maſters of the fort of Edem, killing all who reſiſted, and making the reſt throw down their

* September 17, 1747.

arms

arms in diſmay. The Maiden and the Cohorn were aſſailed and carried with the ſame vivacity; the troops climbing up in crouds. Every thing is carried; they puſh on to the ramparts, where they form, and enter the city with bayonets fixed. The Marquis de Lujac ſeized on the gate leading to the harbour, the Commandant of that fortreſs ſurrendering at diſcretion. All the other forts were ſurrendered in the ſame manner. The old Baron de Cromſtrom, who commanded within the town, fled to the lines. The Prince of Heſſe-Philipſtadt making ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets with two regiments, the one Scotch and the other Swiſs, they were cut to pieces. The reſt of the garriſon fled towards the lines for protection, and ſpread terror where-ever they came, 'till the flight became general, and arms, proviſions, baggage, and every thing elſe was abandoned. The city was pillaged by the victorious troops. They ſeized, in the King's name, on ſeventeen large barges in the port, laden with ammunition of all ſorts, and refreſhments ſent to the beſieged by different cities of Holland. On the cheſts were written in large characters, "For the invincible garriſon of Bergen-op-zoom." The King, when he received the news, made Count Lowendhal a Marſhal of France. The ſurprize was very great at London: but the conſternation throughout Holland was inexpreſſible, and the army of the Allies were diſheartened. Notwithſtanding all this good fortune, it was ſtill very difficult to conquer Maeſtricht. This enterprize was reſerved for the year 1748. Marſhal Saxe ſaid, "That the peace lay in Maeſtricht."

The campaign was opened with the preparations for this important ſiege. Nearly the ſame meaſures were to be taken as at the ſiege of Namur; to open to themſelves and ſecure all the avenues, to force an entire army to retreat, and to render it incapable to act. This was the moſt ſkilful manœuvre of the whole war. The enterprize could not ſucceed, but by engaging the enemy to change their poſition. It was neceſſary to deceive them, and, at the ſame time, to keep the real object a ſecret from their own army. The marches muſt

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be ſo combined, that each march ſhould deceive the enemy, and that all ſhould anſwer the main deſign. All this was planned by Marſhal Saxe, and arranged by Monſ. de Cremille.

The enemy was at firſt made to believe that the French had a deſign on Breda. The Marſhal himſelf conducted a large convoy to Bergen-op-zoom, at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, and ſeemed to turn his back on Maeſtricht*. Another diviſion marched at the ſame time to Tirlemont, on the road to Liege; another to Tongres; another threatened Luxemburg; and all at laſt marched towards Maeſtricht on the right and on the left of the Meuſe.

The Allies, ſeparated into different bodies, did not diſcover the Marſhal's deſign till it was too late to oppoſe it. The city found itſelf inveſted† on both ſides of the river, ſo that no ſuccours could poſſibly enter. The enemy, to the number of near eighty thouſand men, were at Mazeik and at Ruremonde; and the Duke of Cumberland could do no more than be a witneſs of the taking of Maeſtricht.

To combat this conſtant ſuperiority of the French, the Auſtrians, Engliſh, and Dutch, expected thirty-five thouſand Ruſſians inſtead of fifty thouſand, on which number they had at firſt relied. This ſuccour, which came from ſuch a diſtance, arrived at laſt. The Ruſſians were already in Franconia; an indefatigable ſet of men, accuſtomed to the moſt rigid diſcipline. They ſlept upon the bare ground, covered only with a ſingle cloak, and often upon the ſnow; the coarſeſt food ſatisfied them; and at this time they had not four ſick in any one regiment of their army. What might render this ſuccour ſtill more important was, that the Ruſſians never deſert; their religion differing from all the other Latin Communions, their language having no relation to the reſt, and their averſion to ſtrangers, rendering deſertion, ſo frequent in other armies, totally unknown among them: in a word, it was the ſame Nation who had conquered the Turks and the Swedes. But the Ruſſian ſoldiers, who had become ſuch excellent

* April 5, 1748. † April 13.

cellent troops, were at this time in want of good officers. The national troops knew how to obey, but their Captains did not know how to command; and they had no longer a Munich, a Laſci, a Keil, nor a Lowendhal, to head them.

While Marſhal Saxe beſieged Maeſtricht, the Allies put all Europe in motion. They prepared for a renewal of the war in Italy with freſh vigour, and the Engliſh had already attacked the French ſettlements in Aſia and America. It will now be neceſſary to obſerve the great exploits they performed with a ſmall force, both in the old and in the new world.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Voyage of Admiral Anſon round the Globe.

FRANCE or Spain cannot be at war with England, but the ſhock given in Europe muſt be felt to the extremities of the earth. If the induſtry and bravery of our modern Nations boaſt an advantage over the reſt of the globe, and beyond all antiquity, it is owing to our maritime expeditions. We are not perhaps ſo much aſtoniſhed as might be expected, to ſee fleets ſent out from the ports of inconſiderable Provinces, ſcarce known in former times by the ancient civilized Nations, one ſingle ſhip of which would have deſtroyed all the fleets of the Greeks and Romans. On one ſide, theſe fleets ſail beyond the Ganges to fight battles with each other in ſight of the moſt powerful Empires, which remain the quiet ſpectators of an art and a rage which have not yet reached them; on the other, they go beyond America, and conteſt for ſlaves in a new world.

The ſucceſs is ſeldom proportionable to theſe enterprizes, not only becauſe all the obſtacles are not foreſeen, but becauſe the means are ſeldom adequate to the end propoſed.

Admiral

Admiral Anſon's voyage ſhews clearly, what an intelligent and reſolute man may accompliſh, notwithſtanding defective preparations and exceſſive perils.

We may recollect, that when England declared war againſt Spain in 1739, the Miniſtry ſent Admiral Vernon to the Gulph of Mexico; that he there deſtroyed Porto-Bello, and failed in his attempt on Carthagena. George Anſon was ordered at the ſame time to make an irruption into the Kingdom of Peru by the South Sea, in order to ruin if poſſible, or at leaſt to weaken, at both extremities, the extenſive conqueſts which Spain had made in this part of the world. Anſon was made Commodore, that is to ſay, Commander of a Squadron. They gave him five ſhips of the line; a kind of ſmall frigate mounting eight guns, and carrying about one hundred men; and two private ſhips laden with proviſions and merchandize. Theſe two veſſels were to carry on a traffic in favour of the enterprize; for it is peculiar to the Engliſh to connect commerce with war. The whole crew of this ſquadron conſiſted only of fourteen hundred men, amongſt whom there were ſeveral old invalids, and two hundred young recruits. This was but a very ſmall force, and they ſailed too late in the year; for this armament did not get to ſea 'till the end of September 1740.

Anſon ſteered for the iſland of Madeira, belonging to Portugal. He advanced to Cape Verd, and cruiſed along the coaſt of Braſil. He put into a little iſland called St. Catharine, which is always covered with verdure and with fruits, in the 27th degree of the ſouthern latitude; and after coaſting along the cold and uncultivated country of the Patagonians, of which ſo many fables have been invented, towards the end of February, 1741, he entered the Streight of La Maire, beyond one hundred degrees latitude, and got clear of it in five months. The little ſloop of eight guns, named The Trial, was the firſt of the kind that had ventured to double Cape Horn. She afterwards took a Spaniſh ſhip of ſix hundred tons in the South Sea, whoſe crew could

not

not comprehend their being taken by a bark coming from England into the Pacific Ocean.

However, in doubling Cape Horn, after having paſſed the Streight of Le Maire, Anſon's ſquadron was buffeted by very ſevere ſtorms, and diſperſed. An inveterate ſcurvy likewiſe diſtroyed one-half of his people; and the Commodore's veſſel alone made the deſart iſland of Fernandes in the South Sea, in their way back towards the tropic of Capricorn.

The rational reader, who muſt obſerve with ſome degree of horror the prodigious pains that men take to render themſelves and their fellow-creatures unhappy, will learn with ſatisfaction that Anſon, finding in this iſland a moſt ſerene climate and fertile ſoil, ſowed on it the ſeeds of ſeveral plants and fruits, and ſome nuts, which he had taken with him, and which ſoon after covered the whole iſland. Some Spaniards who put in there a few years after, and ſince then had been carried priſoners to England, judged that it could be no other than Anſon who had repaired the evils of war by this liberal action, and thanked him as their benefactor.

He found upon the coaſt a great many ſea-lions, whoſe males fought deſperately with each other for the females; and his people were aſtoniſhed to ſee a number of goats in the plains with their ears cut, which ſerved to verify the adventures of one Selkirk, an Engliſhman, who, being left upon this iſland, had lived there ſeveral years. Let me be permitted to ſoften by the relation of theſe little circumſtances a melancholy hiſtory which is only a recital of murders and calamities. A more intereſting obſervation was that of the variation of the compaſs, which was found conformable to Halley's ſyſtem. The Needle followed exactly the route which this great Aſtronomer had traced for it. He gave laws to the magnetic powers, as Newton had done to all Nature: and this little ſquadron, which traverſed unknown ſeas only with a view of plunder, proved uſeful to philoſophy without deſigning it.

Anſon, who was on board a ſixty-gun ſhip, having been joined by another man of war, and by the Trial

ſloop, took ſeveral pretty conſiderable prizes in cruizing off this Iſland of Fernandes. But ſoon after, advancing towards the equinoctial line, he ventured to attack the city of Paita, ſituated on the ſame coaſt of America. He did not make uſe of his men of war, nor yet of the remainder of his crew, in attempting this bold ſtroke. Fifty ſoldiers in a row-boat performed this expedition. They landed in the night; the ſurprize was ſudden; and the confuſion and diſorder being redoubled by darkneſs, multiplied and augmented the danger.

The Governor, the garriſon, and the inhabitants, fled on all ſides. The Governor went up the country, got together about three hundred horſe, and raiſed the militia in the neighbouring places. The fifty Engliſh ſoldiers in the mean time, for three days together, tranſported to their ſhips the treaſures they found in the Cuſtom-houſe and in private houſes without the leaſt interruption. The négro-ſlaves who did not fly (a ſpecies of animals who belong to the firſt that ſeizes on them), aſſiſted in carrying off the riches of their former maſters. The men of war then approached the town, and the Governor had neither the courage to return into the city and defend it, nor the prudence to treat with the conquerors for the ranſom of the place and of the remaining effects. Anſon therefore ordered Paita to be reduced to aſhes, and then ſet ſail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much eaſe as they had formerly ſtripped the Americans *. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres, and the Engliſh gained about one hundred and eighty thouſand, which, added to the prizes taken before, already enriched the ſquadron; and the great number taken off by the ſcurvy, left a larger ſhare for the ſurvivors. This little ſquadron appeared afterwards off Panama, on the Pearl coaſt, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The Government at Madrid were ignorant at this time of the danger they were in of loſing that conſiderable part of the globe.

If Admiral Vernon, who had beſieged Carthagena on the oppoſite ſea, had ſucceeded, he might have aſſiſted Com-

* November, 1741.

Commodore Anſon. The Iſthmus of Panama to the right and left would have been taken by the Engliſh, and the centre of the Spaniſh dominions loſt.

The Spaniſh Adminiſtration, long before appriſed of this, had taken its precautions, which an unparalleled misfortune rendered uſeleſs. They had provided againſt Anſon's ſquadron by a more numerous fleet, with a greater number of men and more cannon, under the command of Don Joſeph Pizarro. The ſame tempeſts which had aſſailed the Engliſh, diſperſed the Spaniards before they could make the Streight of Le Maire. They were not only attacked with the ſame ſcurvy which had carried off half the Engliſh, but the proviſions they expected from Buenos Ayres not arriving, famine was added to the diſtemper. Two of their ſhips, whoſe crews were at the point of death, were bulged on the coaſts, and two more were ſhipwrecked. The Commander was obliged to leave his own ſhip at Buenos Ayres, becauſe there were not hands enough left to ſteer her, and this ſhip could not be repaired under three years; ſo that he returned to Spain in 1746 with not quite an hundred men, out of two thouſand ſeven hundred that he carried out: a fatal event, which ſerves to ſhew that the ſea-ſervice is more dangerous than that of the land; ſince, independent of engagements, they are almoſt always liable to the moſt horrible dangers and the moſt dreadful extremities.

The misfortunes of Pizarro left Anſon at full liberty in the South-Sea; but the loſs he had ſuſtained on his part, put it out of his power to undertake any conſiderable enterprizes by land, eſpecially ſince he had heard from his priſoners of the failure of the ſiege of Carthagena, and that Mexico had been ſecured.

Anſon then centered all his ſchemes and his great hopes in the ſingle object of taking an immenſe galleon which the Mexicans ſend every year into the Chineſe Seas to the Iſland of Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, ſo called becauſe they were diſcovered in the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with ſilver, would not ſtir out of port while any Engliſh ſhips were ſeen on the coaſts, nor ſet ſail till a conſiderable time after their departure. The Commodore therefore traverſed the Pacific Ocean, and all the climates oppoſite to Africa, between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him run over the whole globe with two men of war. The ſcurvy purſued his crew to theſe ſeas; and one of the ſhips proving leaky in ſeveral parts, they were obliged to abandon and burn her at ſea, leſt ſome of her wreck ſhould be carried into any of the Spaniſh Iſlands, and prove ſerviceable to them. The remainder of the ſailors and marines belonging to this ſhip were taken on board the Centurion, the Commodore's ſhip, which, with two ſloops, were all that remained of his ſquadron. The Centurion, which had ſingly eſcaped ſo many dangers, but was greatly impaired, and had almoſt all her crew ſick, happily for them, put into one of the Marianne Iſlands called Tinian, at this time almoſt entirely deſerted; and when peopled, it contained ſcarcely thirty thouſand ſouls, the greateſt part of whom had periſhed by an epidemical diſeaſe, and the remainder had been tranſported to another Iſland by the Spaniards.

Their reſidence at Tinian ſaved the crew. This Iſland, more fertile than that of Fernandes, preſented on all ſides wood, ſpring-water, tame animals, fruit, vegetables, and every thing that was neceſſary for food, for the conveniencies of life, and for refitting a ſhip. But the moſt ſingular thing they found on it was a tree the taſte of whoſe fruit reſembled the beſt bread: a real treaſure, which, if it were poſſible to tranſport it into our climates, would be far preferable to thoſe imaginary riches ſnatched from the extremities of the globe in the midſt of the greateſt perils. From this Iſland they coaſted along that of Formoſa, and ſteered to Macao towards China, at the entrance of the river Canton, to complete the repair of the only remaining ſhip.

Macao during one hundred and fifty years has belonged to the Portugueſe. The Emperor of China permitted

them to build a town in this little Iſland, which is only a rock, but was neceſſary for their commerce. The Chineſe from that time have never violated the privileges granted to the Portugueſe. This fidelity, in my opinion, invalidates the teſtimony of the Engliſh author who has publiſhed the hiſtory of this expedition of Admiral Anſon *. This hiſtorian, in other reſpects judicious, inſtructive, and a good citizen, never mentions the Chineſe but as a contemptible people, without fidelity and without induſtry. As to their induſtry, it is indeed of a different nature from ours; and as to their manners, I imagine we ſhould form our judgment of a powerful Nation rather from its Governors than from the populace at the extremities of a province. It appears to me, that the faith of treaties obſerved by the Government for a century and a half, does more honour to the Chineſe, than they derive ſhame from the avarice and treachery of a low race of people inhabiting one of the ſea-coaſts of this vaſt empire. Muſt the moſt ancient and the beſt policied Nation in the world be inſulted, becauſe ſome poor wretches wanted to defraud the Engliſh by little thefts and illicit profits of the twenty thouſandth part of what the Engliſh had taken by force from the Spaniards in the Chineſe Sea? It is not long ſince travellers had experienced much greater oppreſſions in more than one country of Europe. What would a Chineſe have ſaid, if, having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of England, he had ſeen the inhabitants running in crowds greedily to ſeize before his face on all his ſhipwrecked effects?

The Commodore having put his ſhip into very good condition at Macao by the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, and having received on board ſome Indian and Dutch ſailors who appeared to him to be uſeful hands, ſet ſail again, feigning to go to Batavia, and even giving it out ſo to his crew; but having in reality no other deſign than to return to the Philippine Iſlands in purſuit of the galleon, which he preſumed would now be in this latitude. As

* Created an Admiral upon his return.

ſoon as he was out at ſea, he imparted his project to his people. The idea of ſo rich a prize inſpired them with joy and hope, and redoubled their courage. In fine, on the 9th of June, 1743, they diſcovered this ſo much deſired ſhip advancing towards Manilla. It mounted ſixty-four guns, twenty-eight of which were only four-pounders. The crew conſiſted of five hundred and fifty men. The treaſure it carried amounted to no more than about fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres in ſilver, with ſome cochineal; for the whole treaſure, which is commonly of twice that amount, having been divided, had been tranſported in another galleon.

The Commodore had only two hundred and forty men on board the Centurion. The Captain of the galleon, perceiving the enemy, choſe rather to riſk the treaſure than to loſe his honour by flying from an Engliſhman, and boldly crowded all his ſail to come to engage him.

The rage of ſeizing on riches, which is ſtronger than the duty of preſerving them for a Sovereign; the expertneſs of the Engliſh, and the ſkilful manœuvres of the Commodore; gained him the victory. He had only two men killed in the engagement. The galleon loſt ſixty-ſeven, and had eighty-four wounded; yet ſtill the Captain had more people left than the Commodore when he ſurrendered. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize; and there ſupported the honour of his Nation, by refuſing to pay the Emperor of China the duties which are laid on all foreign ſhips. He inſiſted that a man of war was not ſubject to any, and his reſolution carried the point. The Governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through a double file of ſoldiers, to the number of ten thouſand; after which he returned home by the Iſlands of Sunda and the Cape of Good Hope. Having thus made the tour of the world victorious, he landed in England on the 4th of June, 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

He cauſed the treaſures he had taken to be carried to London in triumph in thirty-two waggons, amidſt the acclamations of the populace and the muſic of drums and trumpets. His prizes in ſilver and gold were eſti-

mated

mated at ten millions of French money, which were the ſole property of the Commodore, his officers, ſailors, and ſoldiers; the King claiming no part of the fruit of their fatigues and of their valour. Theſe riches ſoon circulating in the Nation, contributed to enable her to ſupport the immenſe expences of the war.

Some common privateers, however, took more conſiderable prizes. Captain Talbot with a ſingle veſſel took two French ſhips, which he imagined at firſt came from Martinico, and contained only common merchandize; but theſe two Malouin veſſels having been freighted by the Spaniards before war had been declared between France and England, thought to return home in ſafety. A Spaniard, who had been Governor of Peru, was on board one of theſe ſhips; and they were both laden with treaſures conſiſting of gold, ſilver, diamonds, and the moſt valuable merchandize. This prize was eſtimated at twenty-ſix millions of livres. The privateer's crew were ſo aſtoniſhed at the riches they ſaw, that they did not condeſcend, as uſual, to take away the jewels which the Spaniſh paſſengers wore. Though there was ſcarce any that had not a ſword mounted in gold, and a diamond ring upon his finger, yet they did not touch one of them; and when Talbot arrived with his prizes ſafe at Kinſale, in Ireland, he gave twenty guineas to each of the ſailors and to all the Spaniſh ſervants.

The booty was divided between two privateers, one of which had been Talbot's companion; but left him to purſue, though without ſucceſs, another veſſel named the Eſperance, which was the richeſt of the three. Each ſailor of the two privateers had eight hundred and fifty guineas for his ſhare. The two Captains had each three thouſand five hundred guineas; and the remainder was divided among the owners of the privateers, after it had been tranſported in triumph from Briſtol to London in forty-three waggons. The greateſt part of this money was lent to the King himſelf, who paid intereſt for it to the proprietors. This ſingle prize was worth more than a year's revenue of all Flanders. One may judge how

far ſuch adventures encouraged the Engliſh to go a-cruizing, and raiſed the hopes of one part of the Nation, who ſaw ſuch prodigious advantages ariſing in the midſt of the public calamities.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Louiſburg. Sea Engagements. Immenſe Prizes made by the Engliſh.

ANOTHER enterprize, begun later than that of Admiral Anſon, ſhews what a Nation may accompliſh which is at once commercial and warlike. I mean the ſiege of Louiſburgh. This was not an operation of the Cabinet-Council at London: it was the fruit of the valour of ſome private merchants in New-England. This Colony, one of the moſt flouriſhing belonging to the Engliſh Nation, is ſituated at about eighty leagues diſtance from the Iſland of Louiſburg, or Cape Breton; an Iſland at that time of great importance to the French, being ſituated towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence, which is the key to their poſſeſſions in North-America. This territory had been confirmed to France by the peace of Utrecht. The cod-fiſhery carried on in thoſe parts was the ſource of an advantageous commerce, which employed annually above five hundred veſſels belonging to Bayonne, St Jean de Luz, Havre-de-Grace, and other ſea-ports in France; and they brought home at leaſt three thouſand tons of oil proper for a variety of manufactures. It was a nurſery for ſailors; and the commerce in oil, joined to that of the cod-fiſhery, gave employment to ten thouſand men, and circulated ten millions of money.

A merchant, of the name of Vaughan, propoſed to hi fellow-countrymen of New-England to raiſe troops t beſiege Louiſburg. This idea was received with a plauſe; and a lottery was ſet on foot, the produce wh

which paid a ſmall army of four thouſand men, which was raiſed, accoutred, and provided with tranſports at the ſole expence of the inhabitants. They nominated a General; but it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the Court of London, and the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhips of war. The requiſition was no ſooner made than granted. The Court ſent Admiral Warren with four men of war to protect this enterprize of a whole country.

Louiſburg was a place that might have been defended, and have rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs, if it had been provided with ſufficient ammunition; but it is the fate of moſt ſettlements at a diſtance, that we very rarely ſend them what is neceſſary in proper time. On the firſt news of the preparations making againſt this Colony, the French Miniſter of the marine department ſent off a ſixty-four gun ſhip laden with every thing that was wanting at Louiſburg. This ſhip arrived juſt to be taken at the entrance of the harbour by the Engliſh. The Governor of the town, after a vigorous defence of fifty days, was obliged to ſurrender. The Engliſh preſcribed their own terms; one of which was, that they themſelves would tranſport the garriſon and all the inhabitants, amounting to two thouſand people, to France. Some months after they were ſurpriſed at Breſt to ſee an entire French Colony left upon their ſtrand by Engliſh ſhips.

The taking of Louiſburg was beſides fatal to the French Eaſt-India Company, which had undertaken to farm the fur trade of Canada; ſo that their ſhips, on their return from India, often came and anchored at Louiſburg. Two large ſhips belonging to the Company arrived there immediately after it was taken and ſurrendered. This was not all: a fatality not leſs ſingular farther enriched the new poſſeſſors of Cape Breton. A large ſhip named the Eſperance, which had eſcaped the privateers, thought, like the others, that ſhe ſhould be ſafe in the harbour of Louiſburg, and like them was loſt. The lading of theſe three ſhips, which came from the heart of Aſia and America only to ſurrender themſelves

in

in this manner, amounted to twenty-five millions of livres. If war for a long time has been allowed to be a game of chance, we may ſay that the Engliſh in one year won at this game about three millions of livres ſterling. The conquerors not only made ſure of keeping poſſeſſion of Louiſburg for ever, but they made preparations for ſeizing on all New France.

It ſhould ſeem, however, as if the Engliſh ought to have undertaken more important maritime enterprizes; for they had at this time ſix men of war of one hundred guns, thirteen of ninety, fifteen of eighty, twenty-ſix of ſeventy, thirty-three of ſixty, thirty-ſeven from fifty to fifty-four; and under this rate, from the largeſt frigates of forty guns down to the leaſt, they reckoned one hundred and fifteen: they had beſides fourteen bomb-veſſels and ten fire-ſhips: in all, two hundred and ſixty-three ſhips of war, beſides letter-of-marque ſloops and tranſports. This navy was provided with forty thouſand ſailors. No Nation ever poſſeſſed ſuch a maritime force. All theſe ſhips could not be armed at once: far from it; the number of men was too diſproportionate. But in fine, in the years 1746 and 1747, the Engliſh had at one time a fleet in the Iriſh and Scotch ſeas, another at Spithead and another in the Eaſt-Indies, another off Jamaica, another at Antigua, and they ſtill kept fitting out new fleets as occaſion required.

France was obliged to act on the defenſive by ſea during the whole war, having in all only thirty-five ſhips of the line to oppoſe this formidable power. It became every day more difficult to ſupport the Colonies. If large ſupplies were not ſent them, they remained entirely at the mercy of the Engliſh fleets. If the convoys ſet ſail from France or from the Iſlands, they ran the riſk of being taken, with the ſhips that eſcorted them. In fact, the French ſuffered ſometimes the moſt terrible loſſes; for a fleet of merchantmen coming from France to Martinico *, convoyed by four men of war, was met by an Engliſh fleet. Thirty of the merchant-ſhips were taken,

* October, 1745.

ſunk,

ſunk, or run aſhore; and two of the men of war, one of which was an eighty-gun ſhip, fell into the hands of the enemy.

A fruitleſs attempt was made to paſs to North-America, in order to attempt the retaking of Cape Breton, or to deſtroy the Engliſh Colony of Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The Duke d'Anville, of the Houſe of Rochefoucault, was ſent there with fourteen ſhips of war. He was a man of great bravery, and endowed with that politeneſs which the French alone preſerve amidſt the ferocity which is remarkable in the ſea-ſervice; but his bodily ſtrength was not equal to the greatneſs of his ſoul. He died of ſickneſs on the ſavage coaſt of Chebucto, after having ſeen his fleet diſperſed by a violent ſtorm. Several of the ſhips were loſt, and others were ſeparated ſo far from the reſt, that they fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

However, it often happened that expert officers, who convoyed fleets of French merchantmen, knew how to conduct them home in ſafety, notwithſtanding the numerous fleets of the enemy.

A very ſucceſsful inſtance of this was given in the ſkilful conduct of Monſ. du Bois de la Motte, at that time Captain of a man of war, who, as he was conducting a convoy of eighty ſail from the French-American Iſlands, was attacked by an entire ſquadron, and had the dexterity to draw all the enemy's fire upon himſelf, while his convoy ſlipt away, which he afterwards rejoined and conducted to Port Royal, in St. Domingo. From thence he engaged the enemy a ſecond time, and brought home to France upwards of ſixty ſail; but of courſe the Engliſh navy in the end deſtroyed that of France, and ruined its commerce.

One of their moſt ſignal advantages at ſea was the engagement off Cape Finiſterre; an engagement in which they took ſix of the King's large ſhips, and ſeven belonging to the Eaſt-India Company armed like men of war; four of which ſtruck during the combat, and the three

* June 1746.

others

others afterwards; the crews amounting to four thouſand men.

London is full of merchants and ſea-faring men, who intereſt themſelves much more in ſucceſſes at ſea, than in all that paſſes in Germany or Flanders. The tranſports of joy in that city were unparalleled, when the ſame Centurion, which had been ſo celebrated for ſailing round the world, arrived in the Thames, and brought the news of the victory off Finiſterre, gained by the ſame Anſon (who with great juſtice had been created Vice-Admiral), in conjunction with Admiral Warren. Twenty-two waggons arrived at London ſoon after with the gold, ſilver, and other effects taken from the French fleet. The loſs of theſe effects, together with the ſhips, was eſtimated at more than twenty millions of French livres.

Of the ſilver taken at this time ſome money was coined, the legend of which was the word *Finiſterre*, which ſerved both as a flattering remembrance of the victory, and an encouragement to the people. It was a glorious imitation of the ancient cuſtom among the Romans of engraving in this manner on the current coin, as well as on their medals, the moſt remarkable events of the empire. This victory was not ſo ſurpriſing as it was happy and uſeful. The Admirals Warren and Anſon had fought with ſeventeen ſhips of the line againſt ſix of the French, the beſt of which, in point of conſtruction, was not equal to the ſmalleſt ſhip of the Engliſh fleet.

But it was really aſtoniſhing that the Marquis de la Jonquiere, who commanded this ſquadron, after having maintained the engagement for a long time, ſhould be able to manage ſo as to afford his convoy which he had brought from Martinico an opportunity to eſcape. The Captain of the Windſor expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms in a letter on the ſubject of this engagement: "I never ſaw better be-
"haviour than that of the French Commodore: and
"to ſay the truth, all the officers of that Nation ſhewed
"great bravery; not one of them ſurrendered till it was
"impoſſible to work the ſhip any longer."

The French had now only ſeven ſhips remaining in theſe ſeas, deſtined to convoy the merchant-ſhips to the

Ame-

American Iſles, under the command of Monſieur de l'Eſtanduere. They were met by fourteen Engliſh ſhips. They fought as at Finiſterre, with the ſame valour and the ſame fortune. Numbers carried the day; and Admiral Hawke conveyed ſix of the ſeven French ſhips he had beaten into the Thames.

France had then only one man of war remaining; and the miſmanagement of Cardinal Fleury in neglecting the marine, was experienced in its full extent. This fault is not eaſily repaired. The marine is an art, and a great one. Sometimes an excellent land army has been formed in two or three years by experienced and aſſiduous Generals; but it takes a long time to eſtabliſh a formidable maritime force.

CHAP. XXIX.

State of Affairs in India, Madras, and Pondicherry. The Expedition of La Bourdonnaie. The Conduct of Du Pleix, &c.

WHILE the Engliſh were carrying their victorious arms over ſo many ſeas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of war, they began to feel its effects in their Colony of Madras. A perſon named Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, who was at once a merchant and a ſoldier, avenged the honour of the French flag in the heart of Aſia.

To render this event more intelligible, it is neceſſary to give ſome idea of India, of the European commerce in that rich and extenſive country, and of the rivalry ſubſiſting among them, which is often ſupported by force of arms.

The European Nations have ſwarmed into India, where they have eſtabliſhed large ſettlements and carried on war, and where many have amaſſed immenſe fortunes; but few have applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the antiquities of that country, formerly more famous for its laws

laws and ſciences than for its riches, which are now become the only object of our voyages.

An Engliſh gentleman *, who reſided thirty years in Bengal, and who underſtands the ancient and modern language of the Bramins, has deſtroyed all the idle collection of errors which has hitherto filled our hiſtories of India, and has confirmed the opinions which a ſmall number of the learned had long entertained †. This country without diſpute was the moſt early civilized in the world; even the learned Chineſe themſelves reſign the ſuperiority. The moſt ancient monuments that the Emperor Camhi had collected in his cabinet of curioſities were all Indian. This learned and indefatigable Engliſhman, who in the year 1754 copied their moſt ancient written law, named the *Shaſta*, prior to their *Vedam*, aſſerts, that at that time it was four thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix years old; and if we may believe him, this book of laws, the moſt ancient in the world, was a long time before that period religiouſly preſerved by tradition, as well as by ancient hieroglyphics.

It is a common practice in all the hiſtories of India, copied without examining one another, to divide all the Indian Nations into Mahometans and idolaters; yet it is affirmed, that the Bramins and Banians, far from being idolaters, have always acknowledged one God, creator, whom their books every where ſtile THE ETERNAL; and they ſtill reverence him amidſt all the ſuperſtitions which diſfigure their ancient religion. We have hitherto believed, on ſeeing the monſtrous figures expoſed in their temples for public worſhip, that they adore Devils, although they never heard of the Devil; theſe ſymbolical repreſentations being only emblems of the Virtues. They generally deſcribe Virtue as an handſome woman, with ten arms to reſiſt temptations. She wears a crown, is mounted on a dragon, and holds in one of her right

* Mr. Holwell.

† "I have ſtudied (ſays he) all that has been written concerning "the Indians, from Arrian down to the Abbe Guion, and have found "nothing but errors and falſhoods." Page 5th of the Preface.

hands

hands a pike, reſembling at the point a flower-de-luce. This is not a proper place to enter into a detail of all their ancient ceremonies, which they have preſerved even to our times, nor to explain the *Shaſtabad* and the *Vedam*, nor to ſhew how far the modern Bramins have degenerated from their anceſtors: yet, notwithſtanding their ſubjection to the Tartars, and the great avarice and debauchery of the Europeans ſettled on their coaſts, have in general made them wicked and deceitful; the author, who lived long amongſt them, obſerves, that the Bramins who are not corrupted by converſing with the European merchants, nor by intriguing at the Courts of the Nabobs, "afford the pureſt model of true piety "which is to be found on the face of the earth *."

The climate of India is without doubt the moſt favourable of any to human nature; nor is it there uncommon to ſee people ſix ſcore years of age. The melancholy narratives of our India Company inform us, that in a battle between two tyrants of that country, one of them named Anaverdikan, whom we cauſed to be aſſaſſinated by a treacherous attendant, was one hundred and ſeven years old, and that he rallied his troops twice to the charge. The Emperor Aurengzebe lived above one hundred years; and Niſan Elmoluk, Grand Chancellor of the Empire under Mahomet Shah, who was dethroned and reſtored by Shah Nadir, died upwards of one hundred years old; ſo that whoever lives ſoberly in that country enjoys a long and healthful life.

If the Indians had remained unknown to the Tartars and to us, they would have been the happieſt people in the world. Though the ancient immemorial cuſtom of their philoſophers ending their days upon a pile of burning wood, in hopes of again beginning a new life;

* The high-prieſt of the Iſland of Cheringam, in the Province of Arcot, who juſtified the Chevalier Law againſt the accuſations of Governor Du Pleix, was an old man, aged one hundred years, and reſpected for his incorruptible virtue. He underſtood the French language, and was of great ſervice to the Eaſt-India Company. It was he that tranſlated the Ezour-Vedam, the manuſcript of which I ſent to the royal library.

and that of the women being burned on the bodies of their huſbands, in order to be born with them again under a different ſhape; prove them to be very ſuperſtitious, yet it ſhews a courage to which we do not approach. Formerly they dreaded killing their fellow-creatures, but had no fear of deſtroying themſelves. Indeed, the women of the caſt * of the Bramins continue to burn themſelves; tho' not ſo frequently as before. Our penitents afflict their bodies; but thoſe deſtroy them: and both act againſt the intention of nature, with the notion that this body will thereby be rendered more happy.

The averſion to ſpill the blood of beaſts in that ancient Nation, encreaſed that of deſtroying mankind; but ſuch mildneſs of manners made them always very bad ſoldiers; and it is to that virtue their misfortunes and ſlavery owe their origin. The Tartar government, preciſely the ſame with that of our ancient grand fiefs, ſubjects almoſt all the people to petty plunderers †, who are named by the Viceroys, which latter are appointed by the Emperor. All theſe tyrants are very rich, but the people very poor. Such is the policy which was eſtabliſhed in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Turks, who all came originally from Tartary; a government entirely contrary to that of the ancient Romans, and ſtill more ſo to that of the Chineſe, the beſt in the world, next to that of the ſmall number of civilized States who have preſerved their liberty.

The Mahrattas are almoſt the only free people in that extenſive free country. They inhabit the mountains behind the Malabar coaſt, between Goa and Bombay, for the ſpace of above ſeven hundred miles. They are the Swiſs of India; alike warriors, leſs policied, but more numerous, and therefore more formidable. The Viceroys, who are often at war with one another, purchaſe their aſſiſtance. They pay and fear them.

The vaſt ſuperiority of genius and ſtrength which the Europeans poſſeſs over the oriental Aſiatics, is ſufficiently

* Tribe, or ſect. † Lairds of Clans, called Hordes.

proved

proved by the conqueſts gained by our people in thoſe Nations, and for which they are conſtantly fighting with each other. The Portugueſe, who were the firſt that ſettled on the coaſts of India, carried their arms and religion to the extent of more than two thouſand leagues; having factories and forts which mutually aſſiſted each other, from the Cape of Good Hope as far as Molucca. When Philip II. was maſter of Portugal, he might have formed an Empire in India at leaſt as advantageous as that of Mexico and Peru; and had it not been for the courage and induſtry of the Dutch, and afterwards of the Engliſh, the Pope would have conferred more real Biſhoprics in thoſe immenſe territories than he beſtows in Italy, and have drawn from thence more money than he can from all the people that are ſubject to the papal chair.

It is well known, that the Dutch have the largeſt ſettlements in that part of the world, which extend from the Iſlands of Sunda to the coaſt of Malabar; next to them the Engliſh, who are powerful on the two coaſts of the Peninſula of India, and as far as Bengal; and the French, who came laſt, have the ſmalleſt ſhare; ſo that they have not been more fortunate in the Eaſt-Indies than they were in the Weſt.

The French Company which was eſtabliſhed by Louis XIV. diſſolved in 1712, and again ſet on foot at Pondicherry in 1720, as has been obſerved, appeared to be in a flouriſhing condition: it had a great many ſhips, ſome Factors, Directors, and even artillery and ſoldiers; but it never could by its trade yield the ſmalleſt dividend to the proprietors. This is the only trading Company in Europe that comes under the ſame predicament; for, in fact, neither proprietors nor creditors have received any payment but what aroſe from the King's grant of part of the duties on tobacco, which is entirely foreign to their trade. By that alone it flouriſhed at Pondicherry; for the returns in money were applied to augment its funds, to fortify and embelliſh the town, and procure uſeful allies among the Indians.

Du Pleix, a man as active as intelligent, and as ſtudious as laborious, had a long time preſided in the Factory of Chandenagore upon the Ganges, in the rich and fertile Province of Bengal, about eleven hundred miles from Pondicherry. He had there formed a conſiderable ſettlement, had built a town, and fitted out fifteen ſhips. This was a conqueſt by genius and induſtry, greatly preferable to all others. The Company then found it to their intereſt to allow every individual to trade for his own benefit. The manager in their ſervice acquired an immenſe fortune, while every body became enriched. He likewiſe made another ſettlement at Patna, going up the Ganges, within thirty leagues of Banaras, the ancient ſchool of the Bramins.

So many ſervices juſtly procured him the entire government of the French ſettlements at Pondicherry, in the year 1742, when the war broke out between England and France. It has already been remarked, that the repercuſſions of theſe wars are always felt to the extremities of the world, in Aſia and in America.

The city of Madras, in the Province of Arcot, which belongs to the Engliſh, is about ninety miles diſtant from Pondicherry; and that ſettlement is of as great conſequence to England as Pondicherry is to France. Theſe two cities are rivals; but the commerce between that part of the world and ours is ſo great, the European induſtry ſo active, and ſo much ſuperior to that of the Indians, that theſe two Colonies might enrich themſelves without hurting each other.

Du Pleix, as Governor of Pondicherry, and Commander in Chief of the French Nation in India, had propoſed a neutrality to the Engliſh Company, than which nothing could be more ſuitable to traders, who ought not to ſell ſilks and pepper ſword-in-hand; as commerce is intended to be the tie of Nations; to comfort the earth, and not to lay it waſte. Humanity and reaſon dictated this propoſal, rejected by pride and avarice. The Engliſh promiſed themſelves, not without ſome probability, to become conquerors on the Indian

dian ſeas, as in other parts of the globe, and to put a period to the French Eaſt-India company.

Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, like the Du Queſnes, the Barts, and the Du Gué-Trouins, was capable of doing a great deal with little, and was no leſs converſant in commerce than ſkilful in ſea-affairs. He was Governor of the Iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius, by the King's appointment, but acted under the direction of the Company. Thoſe Iſlands had flouriſhed under his adminiſtration. He armed nine ſhips of war, with which he ſailed from Bourbon, having on board about two thouſand three hundred white and eight hundred black troops, all diſciplined by himſelf, and whom he had made excellent cannoniers. An Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of Admiral Barnet, was cruiſing in thoſe ſeas, and not only defended Madras but moleſted Pondicherry, and took a great number of prizes. This fleet he attacked and diſperſed, and then without loſs of time went to lay ſiege to Madras. July 6, 1746.

Some deputies came to repreſent to him, that it was not allowed to attack the territories of the Great Mogul. They were in the right; for it is the greateſt weakneſs in the Aſiatic Monarchs to ſuffer it, and the height of European audacity to attempt it. The French, however, landed without reſiſtance, and planted their cannon before the walls of a place badly fortified, with a garriſon of only five hundred ſoldiers for its defence. The Engliſh ſettlement conſiſted of Fort St. George, where the magazines were all kept; of the White-Town, inhabited only by Europeans; and of the Black-Town, peopled by merchants and mechanics from all the Nations of India, Jews, Banians, Armenians, Mahometans and Pagans, alſo red Indians, and others of a copper colour. This multitude amounted to about fifty thouſand ſouls. The Governor was ſoon forced to ſurrender, and the ranſom of the city was valued at eleven hundred thouſand pagodas, which amount to about nine millions of French livres.

Bourdonnaie had poſitive orders from the Miniſtry "not to hold any of the conqueſts that he might make

" in India ;" orders as inconſiderate, perhaps, as all are which are given at a diſtance on ſubjects that are not therefore within the reach of knowledge. However, he punctually obeyed his inſtructions, and received hoſtages and ſureties for the ranſom of this conqueſt, which he did not keep. Never was known more punctual obedience, accompanied with greater ſervice. He had the merit alſo of eſtabliſhing order in the town ; of calming the terrors of the women (who had all fled for refuge into the churches and pagodas) ; to deliver them with honour from their fears ; and at laſt to make the victorious Nation reſpectable, and even to be eſteemed by the conquered.

It has almoſt always been the fate of France, that its enterprizes and even ſucceſſes out of its frontiers have become fatal. Du Pleix, Governor of the India Company, had the misfortune to be jealous of Bourdonnaie. He annulled the capitulation, ſeized his ſhips, and would even have put him under arreſt.

The Engliſh, and the inhabitants of Madras, who relied upon the Law of Nations, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this infraction of the treaty and the word of honour given by Bourdonnaie. But their indignation was raiſed to its higheſt pitch, when Du Pleix, having taken poſſeſſion of the Black-Town, deſtroyed and laid it in ruins. This piece of barbarity was greatly injurious to the innocent Coloniſts, without being of the leaſt advantage to the French. The ranſom which ſhould have been received, was loſt ; and the French name became deteſtable throughout all India.

In the midſt of the diſcontent, reproaches, and reſentment, which were occaſioned by ſuch a behaviour, Du Pleix made the Council and principal citizens of Pondicherry, who were under his command, ſign the moſt violent memorials againſt his rival, accuſing him of having demanded too ſmall a ranſom for Madras, and of having received for himſelf preſents of too great a value.

At laſt, as a reward for ſuch a ſignal ſervice, the conqueror of Madras on his arrival at Paris was ſhut up in the Baſtile, where he remained three years and a half,

while they were ſending to India for evidences to appear againſt him; nor was he permitted to ſee his wife and children. Thus cruelly puniſhed on ſuſpicion only, he contracted a mortal diſtemper in the priſon; but before it had put a period to his life, he was declared innocent * by the Commiſſion of the Council appointed for his trial. It was doubted whether in ſuch a caſe it was a conſolation or an additional grief to be juſtified ſo late, and to ſo little purpoſe; nor was any recompence made to his family by the Court. Indeed, the public beſtowed upon him the flattering title of "La Bourdonnaie, the avenger of France, and the victim of envy †."

But ſoon after, the ſame public forgave his enemy Du Pleix, when he defended Pondicherry againſt the Engliſh, who beſieged it by ſea and land under the command of Admiral Boſcawen, who attacked it with about four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch ſoldiers, and as many Indians, reinforced by the greateſt part of the ſailors from his fleet, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail. Mr. Du Pleix then acted as commander, engineer, matroſs, and commiſſary of ſtores. His indefatigable care was well-ſeconded by Mr. de Buſſy, who often repulſed the beſiegers at the head of a body of volunteers. All the officers there gave proofs of courage which deſerved the gratitude of their country; ſo that the capital of the French Colonies, which was thought to be unable to reſiſt, was for this time ſaved ‡. This was one of the operations which at laſt procured the grand ribbon of St. Louis to Mr. Du Pleix; an honour which had never been conferred on any perſon out of the military ſervice. We ſhall ſee in what manner he became the protector and conqueror of the Indian Viceroys, and what cataſtrophe followed ſo much glory.

* Feb. 3, 1761. † A ſad ſtory, indeed! *Tranſlator.*

‡ October 17, 1748.

CHAP. XXX.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

IN this flow and ebb of ſucceſſes and loſſes, almoſt common in every war, Louis XV. continued to be victorious in the Low-Countries. Maeſtricht was already on the point of ſurrendering to Marſhal Saxe, who beſieged it after one of the fineſt manœuvres that was ever attempted by any General; and from thence all was open to Nimeguen. The Dutch were under great conſternation, there being near thirty-five thouſand of their ſoldiers priſoners in France; and more dreadful diſaſters than thoſe of the year 1672 ſeemed to threaten that Republic. But what France gained on one ſide, ſhe loſt on the other. Her Colonies were expoſed, her commerce ruined, and her navy deſtroyed. As all the contending Nations were ſufferers, ſo all of them ſtood in need of a peace, as it happened in the former wars. Near ſeven thouſand trading veſſels belonging to France, Spain, England, and Holland, had been taken in the courſe of their reciprocal depredations. From hence it may be concluded, that above fifty thouſand families had ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes. In addition to theſe misfortunes was the vaſt number of ſlain, and the difficulty of raiſing recruits, which happens in every war. One-half of Germany and Italy, together with the Low-Countries, had been laid waſte; and to encreaſe and prolong ſo many diſaſters, the money of England and Holland had engaged thirty-five thouſand Ruſſians, who were then in Franconia; ſo that the ſame troops which had conquered the Turks and Swedes, were about to approach the frontiers of France.

But what particularly diſtinguiſhes this war is, that after every victory gained by Louis XV. he made offers of peace, which had never been accepted. At laſt, indeed,

deed, when they ſaw Maeſtricht was going to fall after Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, the enemy in their turn ſued for peace *, which was become neceſſary to all parties.

The Marquis de St. Severin †, one of the Plenipotentiaries from France at the Congreſs of Aix-la-Chapelle, began by declaring, that he came to fulfil the words of his maſter, "That he would make peace not as a mer-"chant, but as a King."

As Louis XV. required nothing for himſelf, but uſed his intereſt for his allies, by that peace he confirmed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his relation Don Carlos. He likewiſe ſettled his ſon-in-law Don Philip in Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla; and his ally the Duke of Modena, ſon-in-law to the Duke of Orleans, formerly Regent, was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of his territories, which he had loſt in eſpouſing the cauſe of France. Genoa again enjoyed all its rights. Thus it appeared more honourable, and even more advantageous to the Court of France to think of nothing but the good of its allies, than to inſiſt upon having two or three towns in Flanders, which would only have been an eternal object of jealouſy.

England, which had no other particular intereſt in this general war beſides that of one ſhip, loſt in it a great deal of blood and treaſure; and the affair of that ſhip remained, after all, in the ſame ſituation. The King of Pruſſia was the greateſt gainer: he retained the conqueſt of Sileſia at a time when all the Powers agreed not to ſuffer the aggrandizing of any Prince. The Duke of Savoy King of Sardinia ſtood next to the King of Pruſſia in point of advantage, the Queen of Hungary having given him part of the Milaneſe for his alliance.

* Every other Hiſtorian contradicts this aſſertion of M. Voltaire, by maintaining, that though none of the belligerent Powers could conceal their hearty deſire to terminate the war; yet all the meaſures taken for holding the Congreſs which produced the peace of 1748, were in conſequence of the repeated inſtances of the Miniſters of Louis XV. at the ſeveral Courts of Europe, but particularly at thoſe of Vienna, the Hague, and London.

† October 16, 1748.

After this peace France re-eſtabliſhed itſelf in the ſame manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and became ſtill more flouriſhing. At that time, the Chriſtian part of Europe was divided into two great parties, who watched one another, and who on each ſide ſupported that balance * which had been the pretext for ſo many wars, though it ought to have inſured continual peace. The States of the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary and part of Germany, Ruſſia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, formed one of theſe grand factions; while France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Pruſſia, and Sweden, compoſed the other. As all the Powers continued in arms, a laſting tranquility was expected, even from the fear with which one-half of Europe ſeemed to inſpire the other.

Louis XIV. was the firſt who kept up thoſe numerous forces which obliged the other Princes to make the ſame efforts; ſo that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the Chriſtian Powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms, perhaps to the detriment of arts and neceſſary profeſſions, but particularly to agriculture. They flattered themſelves that for a long time there would be no aggreſſor, becauſe all the States were armed to defend themſelves; but they flattered themſelves in vain.

CHAP. XXXI.

The State of Europe in 1756. Liſbon deſtroyed. Conſpiracies and Puniſhments in Sweden. Dreadful Wars for ſome Territories towards Canada. The Taking of Port-Mahon by Marſhal Richelieu.

EUROPE never enjoyed ſuch happy times as from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to about the year 1755. Trade flouriſhed from Peterſburg even to Cadiz; the fine arts were every where reſpected; a

* The balance of power between the States of Europe.

general

general harmony prevailed among all nations; and Europe reſembled a large family reconciled after a quarrel. The freſh troubles of Europe ſeemed to be announced by earthquakes, which were felt in ſeveral countries, but in a more terrible manner at Liſbon than any where elſe. One-third of that city was thrown down upon its inhabitants, and thirty thouſand ſouls periſhed in its ruins. This ſhock extended into Spain, where the ſmall town of Setubal was almoſt deſtroyed, others damaged; and the ſea riſing higher than the quay at Cadiz, ſwallowed up all that came in its way. The earthquakes which ſhook Europe, were likewiſe felt in Africa; and the ſame day that the inhabitants of Liſbon periſhed, the earth opened near Morocco, where a whole tribe of Arabs was buried in the abyſs; and the cities of Fez and Mequinez ſuffered ſtill more than Liſbon.

This ſcourge ought to have rouſed mankind to ſome reflections, and have made them conſider, that they were alike victims to death, and ſhould therefore comfort one another. The Portugueſe believed that the mercy of God might be obtained by burning ſome Jews, and other Heretics, in what they call an *Auto-da-fé*, or *act of faith* *, which other nations, leſs inſtructed, regarded as an act of barbarity; but even from that time, meaſures were taken in other parts of Europe to dye with blood that earth which had been juſt before ſhaking under our feet.

The firſt fatal cataſtrophe happened in Sweden. That Kingdom had become a Republic, of which the King was only a firſt Magiſtrate, being obliged to conform to the plurality of voices in the Senate. The States, compoſed of the Nobility, Burgeſſes, Clergy, and Peaſants, could indeed alter the laws of the Senate, but the King did not poſſeſs that power.

Some noblemen, more attached to the King than to the new laws of the country, conſpired againſt the Senate in favour of the Monarch. The plot was diſcovered, and the conſpirators were puniſhed with death†. That which might have been deemed a virtuous action in a State purely

* June 20, 1756. † June, 1756.

monarchical,

monarchical, was looked upon as an infamous treaſon in a country become free. Thus the ſame actions are crimes or virtues, according to the times or places of their being put in execution *.

This event alienated the Swedes from their King, and it contributed afterwards to cauſe war to be declarde (as we ſhall ſee) againſt Frederic, King of Pruſſia, whoſe ſiſter was married to the King of Sweden.

From that period, the revolutions which the ſame King of Pruſſia and his enemies were preparing, reſembled a flame ſmothering under the aſhes. The fire ſoon blazed forth, and ſpread over Europe; but the firſt ſparks came from America.

A ſlight quarrel between France and England for ſome delart lands towards Acadia †, gave riſe to a new ſyſtem of politics among all the Sovereigns of Europe. It is proper to obſerve, that this quarrel was the fruit of the negligence of all the Miniſters who in 1712 and 1713 concluded the treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty France had ceded to England, Acadia, adjoining to Canada, with all its ancient limits, but they had not ſpecified what were thoſe limits; to which, indeed, they were ſtrangers. This is a fault which is never committed in contracts between individuals; and debates neceſſarily aroſe from that omiſſion. Were philoſophy and juſtice to interfere in the quarrels of men, they would make them ſee, that the French and the Engliſh diſputed for a country over which they had not the ſmalleſt right; but thoſe firſt principles never enter into the affairs of the world. A ſimilar diſpute among common merchants would have been adjuſted in two hours by arbitration; but among crowned heads, the ambition or caprice of a Commiſſary is ſufficient to involve twenty States. The Engliſh were accuſed of ſeeking the entire deſtruction of the French trade in that part of America. As they were greatly ſuperior,

* What a ſtrange argument is this! An attempt to ſubvert the political conſtitution of any State muſt ever ſurely be deemed an act of treaſon. This is one of M. Voltaire's many *ipſe dixits*. *Tranſlator.*

† Nova Scotia.

by

by their rich and numerous Colonies in North America, ſo they were ſtill more ſo at ſea by their fleets; and having deſtroyed the navy of France in the year 1741, they flattered themſelves that nothing could reſiſt their power, either in the new world or on our ſeas: but they were ſoon undeceived.

In 1755 they began by attacking the French on the borders of Canada *, and without any declaration of war took above three hundred merchant-ſhips, as if they had been only ſmuggling cutters: they even ſeized ſome veſſels belonging to other nations, which were carrying goods to the French. Upon this occaſion the King of France acted quite differently from Louis XIV. He contented himſelf with immediately demanding juſtice, and did not even allow his ſubjects to fit out cruizers. Louis XIV. had often ſpoken to other Courts with ſuperiority; but Louis XV. made all the Courts ſenſible of the ſuperiority affected by the Engliſh. Louis XIV. had been reproached for an ambition tending towards univerſal monarchy upon land; Louis XV. made known the real ſuperiority aſſumed by the Engliſh on the ſeas.

In the mean time, Louis XV. took ſome revenge: his troops defeated the Engliſh near Canada, in 1755; he got ready a conſiderable fleet in his harbours; and propoſed to attack George II. by land in his Electorate of Hanover. Such an irruption into Germany threatened Europe with the conflagration which had been lighted up in the new world; and it was then that all the political views of Europe were altered. The King of England a ſecond time called from the extremities of the North thirty thouſand Ruſſians, whom he took into his pay. As the Ruſſian Empire was in alliance with the Emperor and the Empreſs-Queen of

* Here the partiality of Voltaire, as a French hiſtorian, breaks forth again. It is an inconteſtible truth, that the French began their encroachments on our back ſettlements along the river Ohio; and that the Court of Verſailles refuſed to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the complaints made by the Britiſh Miniſtry on that head, many months before the ſeizure of any French ſhip at ſea. *Tranſlator.*

Hungary,

Hungary, the King of Pruſſia had reaſon to apprehend that the Ruſſians, Imperialiſts, and Hanoverians, might fall upon him. He had about one hundred and forty thouſand men in arms: he did not heſitate to unite with the King of England, to hinder the Ruſſians from entering Germany, on the one hand; and, on the other, to block up the road to the French. Here then all Europe is again in arms, and France again plunged in new calamities, which ſhe might have ſhunned, if ſhe could have avoided her fate.

The King of France raiſed with eaſe, and in a moment, all the money he wanted, by one of thoſe ready reſources which cannot be known in a kingdom leſs opulent than France. Twenty new places of Farmers-general, and ſome loans, ſufficed to ſupport the firſt years of the war; a deſtructive facility, which in a ſhort time ruined the Kingdom!

France pretended to threaten the coaſts of England. It was no longer ſuch times as when Queen Elizabeth, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh only, having Scotland to fear, and being ſcarcely able to keep Ireland in ſubjection, withſtood the prodigious efforts of Philip II.; for George II. King of England thought himſelf obliged to bring over ſome Hanoverians and Heſſians to defend his coaſts. The Engliſh, who had not foreſeen this conſequence of their undertaking, murmured to ſee an inundation of ſtrangers; and the courage of ſeveral citizens degenerating into fear, they trembled for their liberty.

The Engliſh Miniſtry were miſtaken with regard to the intentions of the French. They were afraid of an invaſion, and never thought of the iſland of Minorca, the fruit of ſuch immenſe expence laviſhed in a former war for the ſucceſſion of Spain.

The Engliſh, as is well known, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards. The poſſeſſion of that place, which had been confirmed to them by all the treaties, was of more importance than Gibraltar, which has no harbour, and gave them the empire of the Mediterranean. About the end of April 1756, the King of France ſent the Marſhal

Marſhal Duke de Richelieu into that Iſland with near twenty battalions, eſcorted by twelve ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, which the Engliſh did not ſuſpect to be in ſo much readineſs: all was ſo at a fixed time and nothing was ready on the ſide of the Engliſh. They attempted, however, though too late, to attack the French fleet, commanded by the Marquis de la Galiſſonniere, in the month of June following. That engagement could not have preſerved the Iſland of Minorca, but it might have ſaved their reputation. The expedition was unſucceſsful: the Marquis de la Galiſſonniere threw their fleet into diſorder, and repulſed it *. The Engliſh Miniſtry ſaw with regret for ſome time, that it had compelled the French to eſtabliſh a formidable navy.

The Engliſh ſtill had hopes of defending the citadel of Port Mahon, which, next to Gibraltar, they regarded as the ſtrongeſt place in Europe, by its ſituation, by the nature of the ground, and by thirty years attention which they had employed to fortify it. It was every where an entire rock: there were moats twenty feet deep, and in ſome places thirty, cut into the rock; there were fourſcore mines under ſome works, before which it was impoſſible to open the trenches. It was every where impenetrable to cannon, and the citadel was every where ſurrounded with thoſe exterior fortifications cut into the ſolid rock.

The Marſhal de Richelieu formed a bolder enterprize than that of Bergen-op-zoom, which was to make an aſſault at one time on all the works which defended the body of the place; and in this daring attempt he was ſeconded by the Marquis de Maillebois, who always diſplayed great talents in this war.

* It would have been nearer the truth if Mr. Voltaire had ſaid, that neither of the fleets gained any advantage over the other; but it ſurpaſſes the limits of common partiality to give the honour of the day to Galiſſonniere, who took the earlieſt opportunity to avail himſelf of Mr. Byng's miſconduct, by flying towards the cloſe of the action, as ſoon as he had joined the van of his fleet, which had actually been defeated. *Tranſlator.*

The

The people of London were ſo exaſperated at their not being able to conquer the French at ſea, that Admiral Byng, who had fought the Marquis de la Galiſſonniere, was condemned by a court-martial to be ſhot, by virtue of an old law paſſed in the reign of Charles II. Marſhal Richelieu, who from the height of a plain country had ſeen all the engagement, and who could form a judgment of it, in vain ſent a declaration to the author of this hiſtory in juſtification of Admiral Byng, which ſoon reached the King of England. It was alſo in vain that the judges themſelves recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to the mercy of the King, who poſſeſſed the prerogative of pardoning; for, after all, the Admiral was executed. He was ſon of another Admiral, who gained the victory off Meſſina, in 1718. He died with great reſolution, and before his execution ſent his vindication to the author, and his acknowledgments to Marſhal Richelieu *.

The French deſcended into the foſſées, in ſpite of the fire of the Engliſh artillery; they placed ſcaling-ladders thirteen feet high, and the officers and ſoldiers, when arrived at the laſt round, ſprung upon the rock, climbing up one another's ſhoulders. It was by ſuch a boldneſs, not eaſily to be comprehended, that they made themſelves maſters of the out-works. The troops behaved with ſo much the more courage, as they had to contend with near three thouſand Engliſh, aſſiſted by all that art or nature could do for their defence.

The next day the place ſurrendered †. The Engliſh could not conceive how the French had ſcaled the foſſées, into which a man in cool blood would hardly deſcend. This action acquired great glory to the General and to the nation, but it was the laſt of their ſucceſſes againſt England.

* This is a melancholy ſtory, reader; yet no more ſad than true. Reaſons of State are myſteries to the vulgar. *Tranſlator.*

† June 29, 1756.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The War in Germany. An Elector of Brandenburg reſiſts the Houſe of Auſtria and the German Empire, together with Ruſſia and France. Remarkable Events.

IT was worthy of admriation that Louis XIV. alone ſhould be able to reſiſt Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, united againſt him; but we have ſeen a more extraordinary event; an Elector of Brandenburg ſingly withſtand the forces of the Houſes of Auſtria, France, Ruſſia, Sweden, and one-half of the Empire.

This is a prodigy which we can only attribute to the diſcipline of his troops, and to the ſuperior talents of the General. It is true, chance may gain a battle; but when the weak reſiſt the ſtrong for ſeven years in a country entirely open, and repair the greateſt loſſes, this cannot be the work of fortune: it is in this reſpect that this war differs from all others which have deſolated the world.

We have already ſeen that the ſecond King of Pruſſia, being the only Prince in Europe who had a treaſure, and the only one who had introduced proper diſcipline among his troops, had thereby eſtabliſhed a new dominion in Germany; and we have ſeen how much the preparations of the father emboldened the ſon to brave alone the power of Auſtria, and to make himſelf maſter of Sileſia.

The Empreſs-Queen waited for a favourable conjuncture to recover that Province. Formerly, it would have been an object of indifference to Europe whether a ſmall territory annexed to Bohemia ſhould belong to one Houſe more than another; but politics being refined more than improved in Europe, as well as all the other objects of the human mind, this trifling diſpute occaſioned five hundred thouſand men to riſe in arms. There never

never were ſo many effective ſoldiers employed, neither in the Cruſades, nor in the irruptions of the conquerors in Aſia. In this manner the new ſcene was opened.

Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia was leagued with the Empreſs Maria-Thereſa by ancient treaties, by the common intereſt which united them againſt the Turks, and by reciprocal affection. Auguſtus III. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the Empreſs-Queen and attached to Ruſſia, to which he owed the title of King of Poland, was cloſely connected with theſe two Sovereigns. Theſe three Potentates had each their complaints againſt King Frederic. Maria-Thereſa had ſeen Sileſia torn from her Houſe; Auguſtus and his Council wanted an immediate indemnification for Saxony, ruined by the King of Pruſſia in the year 1741; and there ſubſiſted between Queen Elizabeth and Frederic ſome perſonal ſubjects of complaint, which have often more influence than is generally thought upon the deſtiny of States.

Theſe three Powers, being exaſperated againſt the King of Pruſſia, carried on a ſtrict correſpondence among themſelves, of which that Prince dreaded the effects. While the troops of Auſtria were augmenting, thoſe of Elizabeth were ready; but the King of Poland Elector of Saxony was not in a condition to undertake any thing. The revenues of his Electorate were exhauſted, and he had no garriſoned town remaining to hinder the Pruſſians from marching to Dreſden. Thus order and œconomy had rendered Brandenburg formidable, as much as diſſipation had weakened Saxony. The King of Poland's Saxon Council heſitated much about entering into meaſures which might prove fatal to them.

The King of Pruſſia loſt no time; for from the year 1755 he had taken alone, and without conſulting any one, the reſolution to prevent the deſigns of thoſe Powers of whom he had conceived ſuch ſuſpicions. He ſigned a treaty * inſtantly with the King of England Elector of Hanover; he made ſure of the Landgrave

* January 16, 1756.

of

of Heſſe and of the Houſe of Brunſwick, and in this manner renounced his alliance with France *.

It was now that the ancient enmity between the Houſes of France and Auſtria, which had continued encreaſing ever ſince the time of Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friendſhip which appeared cordially eſtabliſhed, to the aſtoniſhment of all the Nations of Europe. The King of France, who had carried on ſo cruel a war againſt Maria-Thereſa, became her ally; and the King of Pruſſia, who had been allied to France, became her enemy. France and Auſtria were thus united, after three hundred years ſpent in a bloody diſcord. What ſo many treaties of peace and ſo many marriages had not been able to accompliſh, was effected in a moment, by a diſguſt received from an Elector. This was called an unnatural alliance by the people of England; but being neceſſary, it was very natural. It might even have been hoped, that the uniting of thoſe two powerful Houſes, ſeconded by Ruſſia, Sweden, and ſeveral States of the Empire, would be able to reſtrain the reſt of Europe.

The treaty was ſigned at Verſailles by Louis XV. and Maria-Thereſa †. The Abbé Bernis (ſince Cardinal) had the ſole honour of this famous treaty, which deſtroyed the whole edifice of Cardinal Richelieu, and which ſeemed to raiſe another more lofty and extenſive. He was ſoon after Miniſter of State, and almoſt as ſoon diſgraced. We ſee nothing but revolutions both in public and private affairs.

The King of Pruſſia, threatened on all ſides, was only the more ready to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was almoſt defenceleſs, propoſing to make that Province a rampart againſt the power of Auſtria, and a road to its frontiers. Leipſig immediately fell into his hands, while a part of his army preſented itſelf before Dreſden. King Auguſtus retired, as his father did before Charles XII. He quitted his capital and went

* January 16, 1756. † May, 1756.

and occupied the camp of Pirna, near Kœnigſtein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the river Elbe, where he thought himſelf in ſafety.

Frederic entered Dreſden as maſter, under the name of Protector. The Queen of Poland, daughter of the Emperor Joſeph, had not quitted the place. They aſked her for the keys of the archives; and on her refuſing to deliver them, preparations were made to force open the doors. The Queen placed herſelf before them, flattering herſelf that they would reſpect her perſon and reſolution; but they ſhewed no reſpect to either, and that depoſitory of the State was opened before her eyes. It was of great conſequence to the King of Pruſſia to find the proofs of the deſigns of Saxony againſt him. In fact, he found teſtimonies of the dread which he had occaſioned; but that ſame dread, which ſhould have obliged the Court of Dreſden to put itſelf in a ſtate of defence, only ſerved to render it a victim to a powerful neighbour. They were ſenſible, when it was too late, that according to the ſituation of Saxony for ſome years paſt, they ought to have ſpent all upon war and nothing on pleaſures. There are ſituations in which people have no other part to take but that of preparing themſelves to fight, to conquer, or to periſh.

On the report of this invaſion, the Aulic Council * of the Emperor declared the King of Pruſſia to be a diſturber of the public peace and a rebel; but it was difficult to give any weight to this declaration againſt a Prince who had near one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men under his command. He anſwered the laws by a battle which was † fought between him and the Auſtrians, whom he went to meet at the entrance of Bohemia, near a town named Lowoſitz.

Though this firſt engagement was indeciſive by the number of ſlain, yet it was not ſo by its conſequences. Nothing could now prevent the King from blocking up the Saxons in the camp of Pirna itſelf, where the Auſtrians could not aſſiſt them; and that ſmall army of the King of Poland, conſiſting of thirteen or fourteen thouſand

* Sept. 20, 1756. † Oct. 11, 1756.

ſand men, ſurrendered priſoners of war ſeven days after the battle.

Auguſtus, in this ſingular capitulation, the only military event between him and the King of Pruſſia, aſked no more than that his guards ſhould not be made priſoners. Frederic replied, "That he could not liſten "to his requeſt; that thoſe guards would infallibly ſerve "againſt him; and that he did not chuſe to have the "trouble of taking them a ſecond time." This anſwer was a ſevere leſſon to all Princes, that they muſt render themſelves powerful when they have a powerful neighbour.

The King of Poland being thus deprived of his Electorate and his army, demanded paſſports from his enemy to go into Poland, which were readily granted; and they had the inſulting politeneſs to furniſh him with poſt-horſes for his journey. He went from his hereditary eſtates into his elective Kingdom, where he found nobody even propoſe to take arms in defence of their King. All the Electorate was laid under contribution; and the King of Pruſſia in making war found the means of ſupporting it in the invaded country. The Queen of Poland, who did not follow her huſband, but remained at Dreſden, died ſoon after of grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but in the courſe of thoſe public calamities, millions of families experienced hardſhips not leſs great, though more obſcure. The Magiſtrates of Leipſig remonſtrated againſt the contributions impoſed on them by the conqueror, which they ſaid they could not pay.—They were ſent to priſon, and then paid them.

There never were ſo many battles fought in any former war as there were in this. The Ruſſians entered the territories of Pruſſia by the way of Poland. The French became auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary, and were fighting to reſtore to her the ſame Sileſia of which they had helped to ſtrip her ſome years before, when they were allies to the King of Pruſſia. The King of England, who had been the moſt avowed friend of the Houſe of Auſtria, was now one of its moſt dangerous foes; and

Sweden, which had formerly given ſuch great ſhocks to this Imperial Houſe of Auſtria, ſerved it then againſt the King of Pruſſia, on account of nine hundred thouſand livres given by the French Miniſtry; though it was Sweden that did the leaſt miſchief.

Germany now ſaw itſelf torn to pieces by many more national and foreign armies than had been in it during the famous war of thirty years.

While the Ruſſians were coming through Poland to aſſiſt Auſtria, the French entered by the Duchy of Cleves and by Weſel, which were abandoned by the Pruſſians. They took poſſeſſion of all Heſſe, and marched towards the country of Hanover againſt an army of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, commanded by the ſame Duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XV. at Fontenoy.

The King of Pruſſia went in ſearch of the Auſtrian army in Bohemia, and ſent a conſiderable body to oppoſe the Ruſſians. The troops of the Empire, which were called the troops of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, which had fallen entirely under the Pruſſian power; ſo that Germany was a prey to ſix formidable armies, which devoured it at the ſame time.

The King of Pruſſia then haſtened to attack Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Emperor, and General Brown, near Prague. This battle * was bloody. The Pruſſians were victorious; and a party of Auſtrian infantry were obliged to throw themſelves into Prague, where they remained blocked up more than two months by the conqueror. A number of Princes were in the city; Proviſions began to fall ſhort; and it was thought that Prague would ſoon ſubmit to the yoke, and that Auſtria was likely to be more overpowered by Frederic than by Guſtavus Adolphus.

By endeavouring to carry every thing at once, the conqueror loſt all the fruits of his victory. The Count de Kaunitz, Prime-Miniſter to Maria-Thereſa, a man as active in the cabinet as the King of Pruſſia was in the

* May 6, 1757

field,

field, had already collected an army under the command of Marshal Daun. The King of Prussia without hesitation went immediately to attack that army, which was supposed to have been intimidated by the reputation of his victories. If that army could once have been dispersed, Prague, which had been bombarded for some time, would of course have surrendered at discretion, and he would have become absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun entrenched his troops on the brow of a little hill. The Prussians ascended it seven times, as at a general assault, and were as often repulsed and overthrown *. The King lost about twenty-five thousand men killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorrain, who had been shut up in Prague, sallied out and pursued the Prussians. This revolution was as great as the exploits and expectations of the King of Prussia had been before the engagement.

The French on their side strongly seconded the Empress Maria-Theresa. Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded them, had already passed the Weser. He followed the Duke of Cumberland step by step towards Minden, overtook him near Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory †. In that action the Princes of Condé and de la Marche-Conti first signalized their arms, and the royal blood of France supported the glory of their country against that of England. A Count de Laval-Montmorenci and a brave officer of the House of Bussy lost their lives. A musquet-shot, which was a long time thought to be mortal, pierced the Count de Chatelet, of the House of Lorrain. He was son of the celebrated Marchioness de Chatelet, whose name will never perish in the memory of those who know that this French lady wrote a comment on the great Newton.

Let us observe here, that by the intrigues at Court the command was already taken from Marshal d'Estrées; and that while he was gaining a battle, the orders were dispatched to pass that affront upon him. They affected to complain at Court that he had not yet taken the whole Electorate of Hanover, and that he had not marched as far as Magdeburg. They thought that every thing ought to

* July 18, 1757. † July 29, 1757.

be terminated in one campaign. Such had been the confidence of the French when they made an Emperor, that they believed they could diſpoſe of the eſtates of the Houſe of Auſtria in 1741. Such it had been at the beginning of the Age of Louis XIV. and Philip V. then maſters of Italy and Flanders, and ſeconded by two Electors. They thought of giving laws to Europe, and were always miſtaken. Marſhal d'Eſtrées ſaid, "that "it was not enough to advance into Germany, but "they ought to provide the means to get out of it." His conduct and valour proved, that when an army is once ſent, the management of it ſhould be left to the General; becauſe, if they have made choice of him, they have had confidence in his abilities.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Sequel of memorable Events. The Engliſh Army forced to capitulate. The Battle of Roſbach. Revolutions.

THE French Miniſtry had already diſpatched Marſhal Richelieu to command the army of Marſhal d'Eſtrées, before they had received the news of the important victory obtained by that General. The Marſhal de Richelieu, ſo well known for the accompliſhments of his perſon and genius, become ſtill more famous for his defending Genoa and taking Minorca, went immediately to attack the Duke of Cumberland. When he had puſhed him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, he there forced him to capitulate with all his army. That capitulation, more ſingular than a battle won, was not leſs glorious. The army of the Duke of Cumberland was obliged by ſtipulation to retire beyond the Elbe *, and leave the field open to the French againſt the King of Pruſſia. He ravaged Saxony; but his own territories

* Sept. 8, 1757.

were

were alſo laid waſte. The Auſtrian General Haddick had ſurpriſed the city of Berlin, and ſpared it from being pillaged, for a ranſom of eight hundred thouſand of our livres.

The deſtruction of his Pruſſian Majeſty ſeemed at that period inevitable. His great defeat near Prague; his troops being overcome near Landſhut, at the entrance of Sileſia; and an indeciſive but bloody battle againſt the Ruſſians, all tended to weaken him.

He was liable to be ſurrounded on one ſide by the army of Marſhal Richelieu, and on the other by that of the Empire, while the Auſtrians and Ruſſians entered Sileſia: indeed, his ruin ſeemed ſo certain, that the Aulic Council without heſitation declared that he had incurred the ban of the Empire*, and that he was deprived of all his fiefs, rights, favours, privileges, &c. He ſeemed himſelf at that criſis to deſpair of his fortune, and only looked forward to a glorious death. He framed a ſort of philoſophic teſtament; and ſuch was the freedom of his mind in the midſt of his misfortunes, that he wrote it in French verſe. This is a ſingular anecdote.

The Prince de Soubize, a General of a cool and ſettled courage, of a good underſtanding, and of cautious conduct, marched into Saxony againſt him at the head of a ſtrong army, which the Miniſtry had reinforced by a part of that under Marſhal Richelieu. This army was joined to that of the Circles, commanded by the Prince of Hildbourghauſen.

Frederic, ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, took the reſolution to die ſword-in-hand in the ranks of the army of the Prince de Soubize; but, at the ſame time, took every meaſure to conquer.

After reconnoitring the army of France and the Circles, he immediately retreated before them in order to poſſeſs himſelf of an advantageous ſituation. The Prince of Hildbourghauſen was reſolved to attack him, and his opinion of courſe prevailed, becauſe the French were only auxiliaries. They therefore marched near to Roſ-

* Aug. 2, 1757.

bach and Merſbourg to attack the Pruſſian army *, which was apparently encamped; but all of a ſudden the tents were ſtruck, and the Pruſſians appeared in order of battle, between two eminences lined with artillery.

This unexpected ſight amazed the French and Imperialiſts. For ſeveral years it had been uſed to exerciſe the French troops after the Pruſſian method; afterwards ſeveral evolutions had been altered in the exerciſe, ſo that the ſoldier did not know what he was doing; his old way of fighting was changed, and he was not perfect in the new. When he ſaw the Pruſſians advance in that ſingular order, unknown almoſt every where elſe, he imagined he ſaw his maſters. The King of Pruſſia's artillery was alſo better ſerved, and much better poſted than that of his enemies. The troops of the Circles fled almoſt without engaging; the French cavalry were diſperſed in an inſtant by the Pruſſian cannon; a panic fear ſpread every where; and the French infantry retired in diſorder before ſix battalions of Pruſſians. In fact, this was not a battle, but a whole army which offered to fight, and then diſperſed. Hiſtory has ſcarcely any examples of a ſimilar action; only two regiments of Swiſs remained in the field, and the Prince de Soubize went through the middle of the firing, to make them retreat with deliberation.

The regiment of Colonel Dieſbach, in particular, ſuſtained for a long time the firing of the cannon and muſquetry, and the attacks of the cavalry; and it was owing to the Prince de Soubize that it was not broken, he partaking of all its dangers †. This ſtrange battle entirely changed the face of affairs. Murmurs were univerſal at Paris. The ſame General obtained a victory over the Heſſians and Hanoverians the year following, and it was hardly mentioned. We have already

* November, 1757.

† It is againſt Colonel *Dieſbach* that one La Beaumelle has been pleaſed to rail, in a little book intitled *Mes Penſées*, as well as againſt the *D'Erlachs*, the *Sinners*, and all the illuſtrious families of Switzerland, who have laviſhed their blood theſe two centuries paſt for the Kings of France. The impudent abuſiveneſs of this fellow ought to be chaſtiſed on all occaſions. *Voltaire.*

obſerved, that ſuch is the ſpirit of a large city, happy and idle, and whoſe applauſe is ſo much coveted.

At the ſame time new diſaſters overwhelmed the army of Marſhal Richelieu, which had been leſſened by the Miniſtry, who were unwilling to ratify the convention and the conditions which Marſhal Richelieu had impoſed on the Duke of Cumberland. By this conduct the Engliſh (not without reaſon) thought themſelves diſengaged from their promiſe. The ratification from Verſailles did not arrive 'till five days after the misfortune of Roſbach: after this, the Engliſh recovered Hanover in a very ſhort time.

If the affair of Roſbach was uncommon, what the King of Pruſſia did after this unexpected victory was ſtill more extraordinary. He flew into Sileſia, where the Auſtrian conquerors had defeated his troops, and were in poſſeſſion of Schweidnitz and Breſlau; and had it not been for his great expedition, he would have loſt Sileſia, and the battle of Roſbach had been of no ſervice.

In the courſe of a month he arrived oppoſite to the Auſtrian army, which he immediately attacked with great fury at Liſſa. The battle laſted five hours; and Frederic, completely victorious, re-entered Schweidnitz and Breſlau; after which there was nothing but a continual viciſſitude of frequent engagements, gained or loſt. The French alone were almoſt always unlucky; but the Government was never diſcouraged, and France drained herſelf to ſend armies conſtantly into Germany. Dec. 5. 1757.

The King of Pruſſia greatly weakened himſelf by ſo many battles. The Ruſſians took the whole Kingdom of Pruſſia from him, and ravaged Pomerania, while he was laying waſte Saxony. The Auſtrians, and afterwards the Ruſſians, entered Berlin. Almoſt the whole of his father's treaſures, and thoſe which he himſelf had amaſſed, were neceſſarily expended in this war, ſo ruinous to all parties; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to the ſubſidies of England. The Auſtrians, French, and Ruſſians, were never diſcouraged, but purſued him continually.

nually. His family durſt no longer remain in Berlin, ſo frequently expoſed; they were obliged to take refuge in Magdebourg; and as for himſelf, after ſo many different ſucceſſes, he was in 1762 entrenched under Breſlau. Maria-Thereſa ſeemed to be on the point of recovering Sileſia. He had loſt Dreſden, and all that part of Saxony which borders on Bohemia; and the King of Poland was in hopes of re-entering his hereditary eſtates, when the death of Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia gave again a new face to affairs, which had ſo often changed.

Jan. 6, 1762.

As the new Emperor, Peter III. had long been a ſecret friend to the King of Pruſſia, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he not only made peace with him, but became his ally againſt the ſame Empreſs-Queen to whom Elizabeth had always been a conſtant friend. Thus, all on a ſudden, we ſee the King of Pruſſia, who had been ſo preſſed by the Ruſſians and Auſtrians, preparing to enter Bohemia by the aſſiſtance of an army of the ſame Ruſſians who had fought againſt him ſome weeks before.

This new ſituation was as quickly diſordered as it had been formed. A ſudden revolution altered the affairs of Ruſſia.

Peter III. wanted to divorce his wife, and ſet the Nation againſt him. He had ſaid, one day, when he was intoxicated with liquor, to the regiment of Preobaſinſki on the parade, that he would beat them with fifty Pruſſians. It was that regiment which prevented his deſigns, and dethroned him. The ſoldiers and the people declared againſt him. He was purſued, taken, and put into a priſon, where he comforted himſelf in drinking punch for eight days together, at the end of which he died *. The army and citizens with one voice pro-

* The imperfect account given by M. de Voltaire of this ſtrange revolution, the contemptuous manner in which he ſpeaks of the unfortunate Emperor, and the erroneous account he gives of his death, are all freſh proofs of his partiality. In a very few words he might have given a clearer idea of the truth. Peter, with no talents for ſuch vaſt projects, had reſolved to introduce a number of innovations

claimed his wife, Catherine Anhalt, Empreſs, although ſhe was a foreigner; being of the Houſe of Aſcania, one of the moſt ancient in Europe. It is ſhe who has ſince become the real Legiſlatrix of that vaſt Empire. Thus Ruſſia has been governed by five women ſucceſſively: Catherine, widow of Peter the Great; Ann, niece of that Monarch; the Dutcheſs of Brunſwick, Regent under the ſhort reign of her unhappy ſon, Prince Ivan; Elizabeth, daughter of Czar Peter the Great and of Catherine I.; and in fine, this Catherine II. who in ſo ſhort a time has raiſed herſelf ſo great a name. This ſucceſſion of five women without interruption is a ſingular event in the hiſtory of the world.

The King of Pruſſia being deprived of the ſuccours of the Ruſſian Emperor, who wanted to fight under him, did not carry on the war with leſs vigilance againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, one-half of the Empire, France and Sweden.

It is true, that the exploits of the Swedes were not thoſe of Guſtavus Adolphus. His ſiſter, wife of the King of Sweden, had no inclination to do him miſchief. It was not the Court of Stockholm who took arms againſt him, it was the Senate; and the Senate did it becauſe France gave them money. Though the Court

into his Government. He began with the army and the clergy; he exaſperated both; and not having concerted his meaſures with that precaution and deliberation which ſuch enterprizes require, before they are carried into execution, he fell a victim to his want of underſtanding, and his ambition to imitate Emperors, Kings and Legiſlators, men of the firſt abilities, and bleſſed with heroic fortitude. Peter the Great, and the King of Pruſſia were the models he had in view, without the leaſt capacity to copy after the drawings of theſe celebrated warriors and legiſlators. As to the manner of his death, it is well known that the reſentment of a ſlighted woman, whoſe affection (if ever ſhe had any for her huſband) was changed to extreme hatred, occaſioned it, and that in the moſt cruel manner. The prieſts and his wife glutted their fury, by making him expire under the moſt horrid tortures. The Editor of this tranſlation ſaw a copy of the memoirs of this revolution, (printed at London, bought up, or otherwiſe ſuppreſſed by the Ruſſian Miniſter) in which all the circumſtances of his tragic end are related at large.

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was not able to prevent the Senate from ſending troops into Pomerania, yet it was powerful enough to render them uſeleſs; and, in reality, the Swedes only made a ſemblance of making war for the little money that was given them.

It was chiefly in Germany that blood was continually ſpilt, the frontiers of France being never attacked. Germany became a gulf which ſwallowed up the blood and treaſures of France. The limits of this hiſtory, which is only a ſummary, will not allow a detail of the prodigious number of engagements which happened from the banks of the Baltic as far as the Rhine: hardly any battle had great conſequences, becauſe each of the Powers had conſtant reſources. It was quite otherwiſe in America and India, where the loſs of twelve hundred men is irreparable. Even the battle of Roſbach was not followed by any revolution. The battle loſt by the French near Minden *, in 1759, and the other checks they ſuffered, rendered their affairs retrograde, but they ſtill maintained their ground in Germany. When they were again overcome at Crevelt †, between Cleves and Cologne, they continued, however, ſtill maſters of the Dutchy of Cleves, and of the City of Gueldres.

What was the moſt remarkable thing in the action of Crevelt, was the loſs of the Count de Giſors, only ſon of the Marſhal de Belleiſle, who was wounded fighting at the head of his Carabineers. He was a young man of the greateſt hopes, being equally inſtructed in affairs of ſtate and in the military art; he was capable of great or leſſer undertakings; his politeneſs was equal to his courage; he was beloved at Court, and in the army. The Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, who took him priſoner, took care of him as of a brother, and did not leave him 'till his death, which he honoured with his tears. He loved him ſo much the more, as in him he met with his own character.

This is the ſame Prince of Brunſwick who has ſince travelled through France and a great part of Europe, and whom I have ſeen enjoying his great reputation, and

* Auguſt 1. † June 23, 1758.

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the praiſes due to him, with ſo much modeſty. He at that time fought ſometimes as chief, ſometimes under his uncle the Prince of Brunſwick, brother-in-law to the King of Pruſſia, who acquired a great reputation, and who had the ſame modeſty, the true concomitant of glory, and the characteriſtic of his family. On ſeveral occaſions the Hereditary Prince commanded ſeparate bodies, and was often as ſucceſsful as enterprizing.

The battle of Crevelt, which was mentioned at Paris with the greateſt diſcouragement, did not hinder the Duke de Broglio from obtaining a complete victory at Bergen, near Frankfort *, againſt that ſame Prince of Brunſwick, elſewhere victorious, and of meriting the dignity of Marſhal of France, after the example of his father and grandfather. It was the ſame Prince who gained the battle of Warburg †, where the Marquis de Caſtres, the Prince de Rohan-Rochefort his couſin, the Marquis de Betiſi, the Count de la Tour du Pin, the Marquis de Valence, and a prodigious number of French officers, were wounded. Their misfortunes were proofs of their valour.

The Count de Montbarey, at the head of a regiment of the Crown, withſtood the efforts of the enemy a long time. He was wounded by the diſcharge of a cannon, and received two muſquet-ſhots alſo.

The brave actions of ſo many officers and ſoldiers are innumerable in all theſe wars; but there were ſome ſo ſingular, ſo *unique* in their kind, that one muſt be deficient to his country to ſuffer them to ſleep in oblivion. I ſhall mention one as an example, which merits to be ever preſerved in the memory of the French.

The Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick had a deſign to ſurpriſe a detachment of the army commanded by the Marquis de Caſtres near Weſel ‡. This French General, ſuſpecting the purpoſe of the Prince, ſent out as a ſcout Mr. d'Affas, a Captain in the regiment of Auvergne. This officer had not marched far, when ſome grenadiers of the enemy lying in ambuſh ſurrounded and ſeized

* April 13, 1759. † July 16, 1759. ‡ Oct. 15, 1758.

him

him at a little diſtance from his regiment. They preſented their bayonets and told him, that if he made the leaſt noiſe he was a dead man. Mr. d'Aſſas, collecting all his force in order to ſtrengthen his voice, cried out, "Come on, my good regiment of Auvergne, here are "your enemies!" He was inſtantly ſtabbed to death.

This devotement, ſo worthy of the ancient Romans, would have been immortalized by them. In thoſe times they uſed to raiſe ſtatues to ſuch men. In our days they are forgotten; and it was not till a conſiderable time after my having written the former edition of this hiſtory, that I was informed of this memorable action *.

The frequent ſucceſſes of the young Hereditary Prince did not, however, prevent the Prince of Condé (much about his age, and his rival in glory) from getting the advantage of him ſix leagues from Frankfort, towards Weteravia †. It was there that the Prince of Brunſwick was wounded, and that all the French officers were intereſted as much for his cure as for their own.

What was the reſult of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital at this day is tedious to thoſe who there ſignalized themſelves? What remains after ſo many efforts? Nothing but blood ſpilt to no purpoſe in uncultivated and ruined countries; villages deſtroyed; families reduced to beggary; and but rarely

* This *memorable* ſtory is very obſcurely or imperfectly told by Mr. Voltaire. It requires ſome *gueſs-work*, or *fillings-up*, to entitle Captain *d'Aſſas* to the Roman honour here claimed for him by our author. It is to be ſuppoſed that this exertion of voice by Mr. *d'Aſſas*, was in order to warn the regiment d'Auvergne either to retreat or put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But then the fineſſe of the Marquis de Caſtres does not ſeem warrantable. It might be thought a much better and ſafer *ruſe de guerre* to have ſent the ſcout forward, with running centries behind to convey an alarm to the camp, than to riſk the loſs of the whole regiment d'Auvergne, which might have been ſurrounded as well as the ſcout; the diſpoſition of the ambuſcade not having been known at the time that this *cunning* device was framed. But I leave the Marquis and the Captain in quiet poſſeſſion of the laurels that M. Voltaire has ſo elaborately twined for them, and humbly take my leave of the ſubject. *Tranſlator.*

† Aug. 30. 1762.

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even a whiſper of thoſe calamities reached ſo far as Paris, always profoundly engaged in pleaſures, or in diſputes equally frivolous.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The French unfortunate in the Four Quarters of the World. Diſaſters of Governor Du Pleix. The Puniſhment of General Lally.

FRANCE at that time ſeemed to be more drained of men and money in its alliance with Auſtria, than it had appeared to have been in two hundred years war againſt it. In the ſame manner it coſt Louis XIV. more to aſſiſt Spain, than had been ſpent in fighting againſt it ſince the time of Louis XII. The reſources of France have healed thoſe wounds; but they have not been yet able to repair thoſe received in Aſia, Africa, and America.

The French appeared at firſt triumphant in Aſia, and the India Company to its misfortune was victorious. Ever ſince the irruption of Shah-Nadir, the Empire of India was nothing but anarchy. The Subahs, who are Viceroys, or rather tributary Kings, bought their Kingdoms at the Court of the great Padiſha-Mogul, and reſold their Provinces to Nabobs, who for ready money ceded whole diſtricts to the Rajas. It often happened that the Miniſters of the Great Mogul, having given a patent for a King, gave the ſame patent to him who would pay more. Subahs, Nabobs, and Rajas, uſed the ſame method; and every one ſupported with arms the right which he had dearly purchaſed. As for the Mahrattoes, they declared for him who would pay them beſt, and plundered both friends and foes. Two battalions of French or Engliſh could beat thoſe undiſciplined multitudes, who had no art, and who (the Mahrattoes excepted) even wanted courage. The weakeſt then implored the pro-

protection of merchants ſettled there from France and England to enable them to be Kings in India, becauſe they could furniſh them with officers and ſoldiers from Europe. It was on theſe occaſions that a ſimple Captain could ſometimes make a greater fortune in that country, than any General can among us.

While the Princes of the Peninſula were fighting among themſelves, we have ſeen that thoſe French and Engliſh merchants were engaged in war alſo, becauſe their reſpective Kings were at variance in Europe.

After the peace of 1748, Governor Du Pleix kept in pay the few troops that he had left, as well the ſoldiers from Europe, whom they call whites, as the blacks of the Iſlands tranſplanted into India, and the ſeapoys and pion Indians.

One of the under-tyrants of thoſe parts, named Chandaſaeb, who was an Arabian adventurer, born in the deſart ſouth-eaſt of Jeruſalem, and tranſplanted into India to puſh his fortune, had become ſon-in-law to a Nabob of Arcot. This Arab aſſaſſinated his father-in-law, his brother, and his nephew; and having experienced a reverſe of fortune proportioned to his crimes, he had recourſe to Governor Du Pleix to obtain the Nabobſhip of Arcot, on which Pondicherry is dependent. Du Pleix forthwith lent him ſecretly ten thouſand louis d'ors, which, joined to the wrecks of the fortune of that villain, procured him the Viceroyalty of Arcot. By his money and intrigues he obtained the diploma of this Viceroyſhip. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of it, Du Pleix lent him troops. With thoſe troops united to his own he fought the real Viceroy of Arcot. This was the ſame Anaverdikan, aged one hundred and ſeven years, whom we have already mentioned, and who was killed at the head of his army.

The conqueror Chandaſaeb, being poſſeſſed of the treaſures of the deceaſed, diſtributed to the amount of two hundred thouſand livres amongſt the ſoldiers from Pondicherry. He heaped preſents upon the officers, and afterwards made a gift of thirty-five Aldées to the India Company. Aldée ſignifies a village. It is a term ſtill

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uſed in Spain ſince the invaſion of the Arabs, who predominated equally in Spain and in India; the traces of whoſe language are left in more than one hundred provinces.

This ſucceſs awakened the Engliſh: they immediately took the part of the vanquiſhed family. There were two Nabobs; and as the Subah or King of Decan was in alliance with the government of Pondicherry, ſo another King, his competitor, joined himſelf to the Engliſh. Thus a bloody war was again lighted between the factories of France and England on the coaſts of Coromandel, at a time when Europe enjoyed peace. They conſumed in this war, both on one ſide and the other, all the funds appropriated to commerce, and each party hoped to reimburſe itſelf from the treaſures of the Indian Princes.

Both ſides ſhewed great courage. Meſſieurs d'Auteuil, de Buſſy, Laſs, and a great many more, ſignalized themſelves by actions which might have gained applauſe in the armies of Marſhal Saxe. Above all, there was an exploit as aſtoniſhing as it is indubitable; which is, that an officer named Mr. de la Touche, followed by three hundred Frenchmen, ſurrounded by an army of eighty thouſand men, which threatened Pondicherry, penetrated in the night into their camp, killed twelve hundred men without loſing more than two ſoldiers, put that great army into conſternation, and entirely diſperſed it. This action was ſuperior to that of the three hundred Spartans at the paſs of Thermopylæ, ſince the Spartans periſhed there, whereas the French were conquerors. But perhaps we do not know how to celebrate enough what deſerves praiſe; and the innumerable multitude of our battles extinguiſhes their glory.

The King protected by the French was named Mouza-Ferſingue. He was nephew to the King favoured by the Engliſh. The uncle had taken the nephew priſoner, and had not put him to death, according to the cuſtom of the family. He kept him loaded with irons in the retinue of his armies, with a part of his treaſures. Governor Du Pleix managed ſo well with the officers of

the enemy, that in a ſecond battle the conqueror of Mouza-Ferſingue was aſſaſſinated. The captive became King, and the treaſures of his enemy were his conqueſt. There were in the camp ſeventeen millions in ſpecie, the greateſt part of which Mouza-Ferſingue promiſed to the India Company. The little French army divided twelve hundred thouſand livres. All the Officers were better rewarded than they would have been by any Potentate of Europe.

Du Pleix received Mouza-Ferſingue in Pondicherry, as a great King does the honours of his Court to a neighbouring Monarch. The new Subah, who was indebted to him for his crown, gave his Protector eighty Aldées, a penſion of two hundred and forty thouſand livres for himſelf, as much for Madame Du Pleix, and one of forty thouſandcrowns to a Daughter of Madame Du Pleix by a former marriage. Chandaſaeb, the benefactor and dependant, was appointed Viceroy of Arcot. The pomp of Du Pleix at leaſt equalled that of the two Princes. He went before them carried in a palanquin, eſcorted by five hundred guards, preceded by martial muſic, and followed by armed elephants.

After the death of his dependant Mouza-Ferſingue, who was killed in a ſedition of his troops, he again named another King, and received from him four ſmall provinces as a gift for the Company. He was flattered from all quarters, that before the expiration of a year he would make the Great Mogul tremble. He was Sovereign in fact; for having bought a patent of Viceroy of the Carnatic at the Chancery of the Great Mogul, for the moderate ſum of two hundred and forty thouſand livres, he found himſelf equal to his creature Chandaſaeb, and much ſuperior to him by his credit. Tho' he was a Marquis in France, and decorated with the Grand Order of St. Louis, yet thoſe feeble honours were but trifling, when compared to his dignity and power in India. I have ſeen letters wherein his wife was treated as a Queen. So much ſucceſs and glory dazzled the eyes of the Company, of the Proprietors, and even of the Miniſtry.

Miniſtry. The heat of their enthuſiaſm was almoſt as great as in the beginning of the ſcheme; and their hopes were very differently founded, becauſe it appeared, that the lands alone which were ceded to the Company produced about thirty-nine millions of livres yearly. In common, they ſold goods to the amount of twenty millions every year in France, at Port l'Orient. It ſeemed that the Company might reckon upon fifty millions yearly, all expences paid. There is not a Sovereign in Europe, nor perhaps on earth, who is poſſeſſed of ſuch a revenue, when all charges are defrayed. Even the exceſs of thoſe riches ought to have rendered them doubtful. And in fine, all that grandeur and proſperity vaniſhed like a dream; and France a ſecond time perceived that its opulence had been only imaginary.

The Marquis Du Pleix inſiſted on laying ſiege to the capital of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Arcot. The Engliſh ſent ſuccours to that place. The officers repreſented to him the impoſſibility of the enterprize: he was obſtinate; and having given orders more like a king who would be obeyed, than like a man employed for the ſervice of the Company, it happened that the beſiegers were vanquiſhed by the beſieged. One-half of his army was killed, and the other taken priſoners*. The immenſe expences laviſhed for thoſe conqueſts were loſt; and his dependant Chandaſaeb, having been taken in the rout, was beheaded. It was the famous Lord Clive who had the principal hand in the victory; and it was by that he began his glorious career, which has ſince procured almoſt all Bengal to the Engliſh Company. He acquired and preſerved the grandeur and riches of which Du Pleix had a glimpſe. In fine, ever ſince that day, the French Company has fallen into the moſt fatal decay.

In 1753 Du Pleix was recalled. To him who had played the part of a great king, they gave a ſucceſſor who only acted as a good merchant. Du Pleix was

* March, 1752.

reduced to litigate the ſad remains of his fortune at Paris with the India Company, and to ſolicit audience of his Judges in the antichamber. He died ſoon after of vexation; but Pondicherry was reſerved for ſtill greater misfortunes.

The fatal war of 1756 having broke out in Europe, the French Miniſtry being afraid, with too great reaſon, for Pondicherry, and for all the ſettlements in India, ſent thither Lieutenant-General Count Lally. He was an Iriſhman, of one of thoſe families which came over to France with that of the unfortunate James the Second. He had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Fontenoy, where he had taken ſeveral Engliſh Officers with his own hand, that the King made him a Colonel on the field of battle; and it was he who formed the plan, more daring than practicable, of landing in England with ten thouſand men, when Prince Charles-Edward was there diſputing the crown. His hatred againſt the Engliſh, and his courage, gained him the preference to go to fight them on the coaſt of Coromandel. But unfortunately, he did not join to his valour the prudence, moderation, and patience, neceſſary for ſo difficult a commiſſion. He figured to himſelf that Arcot was ſtill the country of riches,—that Pondicherry was well provided with every thing,—that he ſhould be completely aſſiſted by the Company, by troops, and eſpecially by his old Iriſh regiment, which he carried over with him. But he was deceived in all his expectations.—He found no money in the coffers,—little ammunition of any ſort,—blacks and ſeapoys unarmed,—ſome individuals rich, and the colony poor, without any ſubordination. Theſe objects provoked him, and kindled that ill temper in him which is ſo unbecoming in a Commander, and which is always hurtful in all affairs: whereas, if he had kept fair with the Council, and had careſſed the principal officers, he might have been able to have procured aſſiſtance in money, to have eſtabliſhed union, and put Pondicherry in ſafety.

The Directors of the India Company in Paris had intreated him, at his departure, to "reform the numerous

" abuſes, the exceſſive prodigality, and the great diſ-
" order which had abſorbed the revenues." He availed himſelf too much of that requeſt, and made himſelf enemies of all thoſe who were to obey him.

Notwithſtanding the diſmal aſpect under which all things appeared to him, he at firſt met with good ſucceſs. He took fort St. David *, ſome leagues diſtant from Pondicherry, from the Engliſh, and razed its walls. If we want to know the ſource of his cataſtrophe, ſo intereſting to all the military, it is neceſſary to read the letter which he wrote from the camp before St. David, to M. de Leyrit, who was Governor of Pondicherry for the Company.

" This letter †, Sir, ſhall be an eternal ſecret between
" you and me, if you furniſh me with means to com-
" plete my enterprize. I have left you one hundred
" thouſand livres of my money to help you to defray
" the expences which it requires. On my arrival, I
" have not found a reſource for one hundred pence in
" your purſe, nor in that of your whole Council. You
" have both refuſed to employ your credit in it for me.
" In the mean time, I look upon you both to be more
" indebted to the Company than I am, who unluckily
" had not the honour of knowing it, but to loſe one-
" half of my ſubſtance in 1720. If you continue to
" let me want for every thing, and be expoſed to face
" a general diſcontent, I ſhall not only acquaint the
" King and the Company of the great zeal which their
" agents here ſhew for their ſervice; but I ſhall take
" effectual meaſures not to be dependent, during the
" ſhort ſtay which I wiſh to make in this country, upon
" the ſpirit of party and perſonal motives, with which
" I ſee every member occupied, to the total riſque of
" the Company."

Such a letter was not calculated to gain him friends, nor to procure him money. Though he did not extort money, yet he indiſcreetly ſhewed ſo much envy againſt thoſe who had enriched themſelves, that it encreaſed the

* April 28, 1748. † May 18, 1758.

public reſentment againſt him. All the operations of war ſuffered for it. I find in a journal of India, written by a principal officer, the following words: "He ſpeaks "of nothing but chains and dungeons, without any "regard to the rank and age of perſons. He has juſt "treated Mr. de Moracin himſelf in this manner. Mr. "Lally complains of all the world, and all the world "complains of him. He ſaid to Mr. the Count de *****, "I am ſenſible that they deteſt me, and that they would "be glad to ſee me at a great diſtance. I engage my "word of honour, and I will give it you under my "hand, that if Mr. Leyrit will give me five hundred "thouſand livres, I will lay down my charge, and go "to France in the frigate."

The journal adds afterwards: "We are to-day at "Pondicherry in the greateſt embarraſſment. It is im-"poſſible to raiſe one hundred thouſand rupees, and "the ſoldiers threaten to go over to the enemy."

Notwithſtanding this dreadful confuſion, he had the reſolution to lay ſiege to Madras, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the Black Town *; but that was preciſely what hindered him from ſucceeding before the High Town, or Fort St. George. He wrote thus from his camp before that Fort, the 11th of February, 1759: "If we fail of Madras (as I believe we ſhall), the prin-"cipal reaſon to which it muſt be attributed, is the "pillage of fifteen millions at leaſt, waſted and diſtri-"buted among the ſoldiers; and I am aſhamed to tell "it, there are among the officers too, who are not afraid "of uſing my name, in employing the chelingues, "ſeapoys, and others, in order to convey to Pondi-"cherry a booty which you ſhould have arreſted on "account of its enormous quantity."

I have the journal of a General Officer which I have already quoted. The author is no friend to Count Lally; very far from it: his teſtimony is on that account the more acceptable, when he confirms the ſame

* December, 1758.

grievances

grievances which occaſioned Lally to deſpair. He expreſſes himſelf thus particularly:

"The immenſe pillage made by the troops in the "Black Town, had brought plenty among them. Large "warehouſes of ſtrong liquors had led them to drunk-"enneſs, and all the evils which it produces. This "circumſtance ſhould have been foreſeen. The works "and the entrenchments were all in the hands of "drunkards. The regiment of Lorrain alone was free "from that contagion; but the other troops diſtin-"guiſhed themſelves in it. The regiment of Lally ſur-"paſſed them all. From thence aroſe the moſt ſhameful "ſcenes, and the moſt deſtructive of ſubordination and "diſcipline. Officers were ſeen wreſtling with the ſol-"diers, and a thouſand other infamous actions; the "detail of which, confined within the bounds of the "moſt ſtrict veracity, would appear to be a monſtrous "exaggeration."

Count Lally wrote, in ſtill greater deſpair, this mournful letter*: "Hell has ſpewed me into this coun-"try of wickedneſs; and I wait, like Jonas, for the "whale to receive me in its belly."

While ſuch diſorder prevailed, nothing could ſucceed: the ſiege was raiſed, after loſing part of the army. The other enterprizes were ſtill more unfortunate, both by ſea and land. The troops revolted, and were with difficulty appeaſed. They were twice led by the General to engage in a ſmall Iſland, named Vandavachi, where he had retired. In the ſecond engagement he was entirely defeated. Buſſy, Marſhal of the camp, the moſt uſeful man in India for war and negotiations, was taken priſoner†. General Lally remained alone, for ſome time, on the field of battle, abandoned by all his forces. The Mahrattoes obtained this victory; and this proves how formidable thoſe Indian republicans are‡.

* Dec. 27, 1758. † Jan. 22, 1760.

‡ Several writers ſay, that they have a King; but they have only an elective Chief.

After a great many other loſſes, it was at laſt neceſſary to retire to Pondicherry. An Engliſh ſquadron of ſixteen men of war, after an indeciſive action, obliged the French ſquadron, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Colony, to quit the harbour of Pondicherry, to refit in the Iſle of Bourbon.

There was in the town ſixty thouſand black inhabitants, and five or ſix hundred European families, with very little proviſions. The General at once propoſed to turn out the blacks, who famiſhed Pondicherry; but how chace away ſixty thouſand? The Council durſt not attempt it. The General having reſolved to ſtand the ſiege to the utmoſt extremity, and publiſhing a ban by which it was forbidden to ſpeak of ſurrendering on pain of death, was forced to order a ſtrict ſearch to be made after proviſions in all the houſes of the town. This ſearch was made, without diſtinction, in the houſes of the Intendant, of all the Council, and of the principal officers. This meaſure completely irritated the minds of the people in general, already too much alienated from him. It was but too well known with what contempt and ſeverity he had treated all the Council. He had ſaid publicly, in one of his expeditions, "I will "not wait longer for the ammunition which they have "promiſed me; but will harneſs Governor Leyrit and "all the Council to the draught, if neceſſary." This Governor Leyrit ſhewed a letter to the officers, addreſſed a long time before to himſelf, in which were the following words: "I would rather go to command the "Caffres than remain in this Sodom, which muſt "ſooner or later be deſtroyed by the Engliſh fire, for "want of that of Heaven."

In this manner, by his complaints and turbulent paſſions, Lally had made himſelf as many foes as there were officers and inhabitants in Pondicherry.

They returned outrage for outrage, ſticking up at his gate libels far more inſulting than his letters or diſcourſes. He was agitated to ſuch a degree, that, at ſome particular times, he appeared to be light-headed: choler and inquietude often produces this ſad effect.

A ſon

A ſon of the late Nabob Chandaſaeb was at this time a refugee in Pondicherry, with his mother. An officer lately landed with the French fleet which is returned, a man equally impartial and credible, reports, that this Indian having often ſeen the French General lying on his bed totally naked, ſinging maſs and the pſalms, ſeriouſly demanded of an officer very well known, "If "it was cuſtomary for the King of France to chooſe a "madman for his Grand Vizir?" The officer being aſtoniſhed, ſaid to him, "Why do you aſk me ſo "ſtrange a queſtion?" "Becauſe, replied the Indian, "your Grand Vizir has ſent us a madman to ſettle the "affairs of India."

By this time the Engliſh had blocked up Pondicherry, both by ſea and land, and the General had no other reſource than to treat with the Mahrattoes, who had beaten him. They had promiſed to aſſiſt him with eighteen thouſand men; but ſuſpecting he had no money to give them, not one appeared, and Pondicherry was obliged to be ſurrendered *, the Council of which ſummoned the Count de Lally to capitulate. He called a council of war, and the officers concluded to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, according to the eſtabliſhed cartels; but General Coote would have the town ſubmit at diſcretion. The French having deſtroyed St. David's †, the Engliſh had a right to make a deſert of Pondicherry, Count Lally in vain laying claim to the cartel, both by word of mouth and in writing. The people periſhed with hunger in the town, which was delivered up to the conquerors, who ſoon after razed the fortifications, the walls, the magazines, and all the principal works.

At the very time the Engliſh entered the town, the conquered loaded each other with reproaches and abuſe. The inhabitants ſought the General's life, and the Engliſh Commander was obliged to give him a guard, and he was removed as a ſick perſon in a Palanquin. He had two piſtols in his hands, with which he threatened

* January 14, 1761. † January 16.

the

the lives of the mutineers, who, reſpecting the Engliſh guard, ran to the Commiſſary of war, who was an ancient officer, Intendant of the army, and a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, who drew his ſword; and one of the moſt furious advancing towards him, was wounded by it, but killed him.

Such was the deplorable condition of Pondicherry, the inhabitants of which did themſelves more harm than they received from their conquerors. The General and above two thouſand priſoners were tranſported into England; and even in their long and dangerous voyage they reciprocally accuſed each other with their common misfortunes.

They were hardly arrived in London, when they wrote againſt Lally and the ſmall number of perſons who had been attached to him. Lally and his party wrote againſt the Council, the officers, and the inhabitants. He was ſo far perſuaded that they were all reprehenſible, and that he only was in the right, that he came to Fontainbleau, though an Engliſh priſoner, and offered to ſurrender himſelf up into the Baſtile *. He was taken at his word; and as ſoon as he was confined, the croud of his enemies, inſtead of being diminiſhed by compaſſion, were augmented. He remained fifteen months in priſon without being once examined.

In the year 1764 there died at Paris one Lavaur, a Jeſuit, who had been a long time employed in thoſe ſort of miſſions in the Indies, where, under pretence of ſpiritual affairs, the prieſts employ themſelves in prophane ones, and oftener gain more money than ſouls. This Jeſuit demanded from the Miniſtry a penſion of four hundred livres to retire, and take care of his ſoul at Perigord, which was his country; and they found in his box about one million one hundred thouſand livres of effects, either in bills, money, or jewels. The like has been alſo lately ſeen at Naples, at the death of the famous Jeſuit Peppe, whom they were ready to canonize. They did not canonize Lavaur,

* November, 1762.

but

but ſequeſtered his treaſure. In this box he had a long memorial minuted in detached papers againſt Lally, in which the latter was accuſed of embezzlement and high-treaſon. The writings of the Jeſuits had at this time as little credit as their perſons, being baniſhed France; but this memorial appeared with ſuch circumſtances, and the enemies of Lally made it of ſuch importance, that it ſerved as a teſtimony againſt him.

Lally was at firſt brought before the Chatelet, and ſoon after before the Parliament. The proceſs was two years preparing. Of treaſon he was not guilty; ſince, if he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh, or had ſold Pondicherry, he would have remained with them. The Engliſh, beſides, are not abſurd; and they would have been quite ſo, if they had bought a place nearly ſtarved that they were ſure of taking, being maſters both at land and ſea. Of embezzlement he could not be guilty, as he had neither the charge of the King's or the Company's money; but of cruelty, of abuſe of power, and oppreſſions; the Judges ſaw much in the unanimous depoſitions of his enemies.

Being always firmly perſuaded that he had been only rigorous and not culpable, he carried his imprudence to that pitch as even to inſult, in his juridical memorials, officers who had the general approbation. He ſtrove to diſhonour them and all the Council of Pondicherry. The more he perſiſted in his obſtinacy of clearing himſelf at their expence, the blacker he appeared. Each of theſe officers had a number of friends, and he had none. This public cenſure ſerves ſometimes for proof, or at leaſt adds force to teſtimony. The Judges could give ſentence only according to the depoſitions; and they condemned Lieutenant-General Lally to be beheaded, as duly convicted*, "of having betrayed the intereſts of "the King, of the State, and of the India Com-"pany; of abuſe of authority, vexations, and exac-"tions."

* May 6, 1766.

tion

It is neceſſary to remark, that theſe words "betrayed "the intereſts of the King," have a different ſignification to what is termed in England *High-Treaſon*, and by us *leze-majeſté*. In our definition it ſignifies only a bad conduct, to forget the advantage of ſome perſon, to be unmindful of his intereſts, and not to be perfidious and traitorous. When his ſentence was read to him, his ſurprize and indignation were ſo violent, that having by chance a pair of compaſſes in his hand, with which he amuſed himſelf in priſon in drawing charts of the coaſts of Coromandel, he would have ſtabbed himſelf, but was with-held; and behaved with greater inſolence towards his judges, than he had yet diſplayed againſt his enemies. This is, perhaps, a freſh proof of that firm perſuaſion he always remained in, that he was rather deſerving of reward than of puniſhment.

Thoſe who have a knowledge of the human heart are ſenſible, that commonly the guilty do juſtice on themſelves by a conſcientious conviction; that they do not rave againſt their judges, but remain in a melancholy ſtupor. There has never been a ſingle inſtance of a condemned perſon acknowledging his crime, and yet charging his Judges with injuries and reproach. I do not pretend that this was a proof of Lally's entire innocence, but it was a proof that he believed himſelf ſo. A gag was put into his mouth, which projected out of his lips, and being placed in a cart, he was conducted to the place of execution. Men are ſo inconſiderate, that this hideous ſpectacle drew more compaſſion than his puniſhment.

The ſentence confiſcated his wealth, after raiſing a ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns for the poor of Pondicherry, and an anſwer has been returned, that this ſum cannot be raiſed out of it. I never affirm what I am unacquainted with*. If any thing could convince

* Almoſt all the Journals have affirmed that the Parliament of Paris had ſent Deputies to the King, to ſupplicate him not to extend his mercy to Lally. This is very falſe. Such a virulence, incompatible with juſtice and humanity, would have caſt upon the Parliament an univerſal reproach.

us of that fatality which attends all events in the chaos of the public affairs of the World, it muſt be, to ſee an Iriſhman driven from his country with his royal maſter's family, commander (at ſix thouſand leagues diſtance) of French troops in a Merchants war, upon coaſts unknown to the Alexanders, Gengis's, or Tamerlanes, dying at laſt an ignominious death upon the banks of the Seine, for having been taken by the Engliſh in the ancient Gulph of the Ganges.

This cataſtrophe, which appears to me worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity in all its circumſtances, has not permitted me to give a detail of all the misfortunes that the French experienced both in India and America. I now reſume the melancholy recital.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Loſſes of the French.

THE firſt loſs of the French in India was that of Chandenagore *, an important poſt, of which the French India Company were in poſſeſſion, towards the mouth of the Ganges. It was from thence they drew their beſt merchandizes.

After taking of the Town and Fort of Chandenagore, the Engliſh never ceaſed ruining the commerce of the French in India. The government of the Emperor † was ſo weak and bad, that he could not prevent the European Merchants from making leagues and wars in his own kingdom. The Engliſh had even the boldneſs to come and attack Surat, one of the fineſt towns in India, and the greateſt place of traffic belonging to the Emperor. They took it, pillaged it, deſtroyed the French Factories ‡, and gained immenſe riches, without the Court of the Grand Mogul, as weak as it was pompous, ſeeming to reſent this outrage, which had, in

* March, 1757. † The Great Mogul. ‡ March 1756.

the

the reign of Aurengzebe, exterminated all the Engliſh in Aſia.

In ſhort, nothing more was left to the French in this part of the world, than the regret of having expended, in the ſpace of above forty years, immenſe ſums to ſupport a Company, who had never made the leaſt profit, and who had paid nothing to the Proprietors and their Creditors from their commercial advantages; and which in its Indian adminiſtration had ſubſiſted only by means of clandeſtine plunder, and was ſupported only by a part of the tax on tobacco, which the King had granted it. A memorable example, though perhaps uſeleſs, of the ſmall knowledge that the French nation have had, even yet, of the great and ruinous commerce of India.

At the ſame time that the fleets and armies of England had thus ruined the French in Aſia, they alſo drove them out of Africa *. The French were maſters of the river Senegal, which is a branch of the Niger. There they had forts, and a great commerce of elephants teeth, gold duſt, gum arabic, ambergreaſe, and particularly a traffic of Negroes, who are ſometimes ſold by Princes as if they were cattle, and who often ſell their own children, and ſometimes themſelves, to ſerve the Europeans in America. The Engliſh took all the forts which the French had built in theſe countries, and more than three millions of livres Tournois†, in the richeſt commodities.

The laſt eſtabliſhment that remained in the poſſeſſion of the French on the Continent of Africa was Gorée, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and there is nothing now remaining to them in all that quarter of the Globe *.

But in America they had ſuſtained much greater loſſes. Without entering here into the detail of an hundred ſkirmiſhes, and the loſs of all their forts, one after the other, let it ſuffice to ſay, that Louiſbourg

* May, 1757.
† A Livre Tournois is ſomething more than the Paris Livre.
* December 29, 1758.

was

was a ſecond time taken by the Engliſh *, its fortifications and proviſions being in as bad a ſituation as they were the firſt time. Laſtly, at the very time that the Engliſh entered Surat, at the mouth of the Indus, they took Quebec†, and all Canada, to the bottom of North America; and the troops which had ventured a battle in defence of Quebec, were beaten and almoſt deſtroyed, in ſpite of the efforts of General Montcalm, who was killed in the engagement ‡, and much regretted in France. Thus fifteen hundred leagues of dominion were in one day loſt to France.

Theſe fifteen hundred leagues, three parts of which were frozen deſarts, were not perhaps a real loſs. Canada coſt a great deal, and remitted very little. If the tenth part of the money thrown away upon this Colony had been employed to cultivate the waſte lands in France, it would have been of conſiderable advantage; but they were fond of keeping Canada, and they had one hundred years of trouble, and all the money ſquandered, without any return.

To complete the misfortune, almoſt all thoſe who had been employed in the King's name in this miſerable Colony, were accuſed of the moſt horrible frauds, and they were arraigned before the Chatelet at Paris, during the time that the Parliament were proceeding againſt Lally. He, after having an hundred times expoſed his life, loſt it by the hands of the executioner; while the Canadian extortioners were obliged only to make reſtitution, and pay fines. Such is the difference in the deciſion of affairs, which, to appearance, are all the ſame!

At the time that the Engliſh thus attacked the French on the Continent of America, they alſo diſlodged them from the ſea-coaſts of the Iſlands. Guadaloupe, though ſmall yet flouriſhing, and where the fineſt ſugars are manufactured, fell into the Engliſh hands without a ſtroke in its defence.

* July 26, 1758. † March 2, 1759. ‡ Sept. 18, 1759.

In

In ſhort; they alſo took Martinico, which was the richeſt and beſt Colony the French poſſeſſed.

The Kingdom of France could not ſuffer theſe great diſaſters, without loſing likewiſe all the ſhips which were ſent to prevent them. Scarcely was a fleet put out to ſea but it was either taken or deſtroyed. They built and armed veſſels with the greateſt hurry, which was only working for the Engliſh, to whom they ſoon became a prey.

When they would revenge ſuch a ſucceſſion of loſſes by making a deſcent into Ireland, it coſt them immenſe ſums for an abortive undertaking; for as ſoon as the fleet deſtined for this deſcent was ſailed from Breſt, it was either diſperſed or taken, or loſt in the mud of the river called La Vilaine, where they had in vain ſought a refuge. Laſtly, the Engliſh took Belleiſle in ſight of the coaſts of France, which could not ſuccour it.

The Duke d'Aiguillon alone revenged the coaſts of France of ſo many affronts and loſſes. An Engliſh fleet having made another deſcent at St. Cas, near St. Maloe, all the country was expoſed. The Duke d'Aiguillon, who commanded in that province, marched inſtantly thither, at the head of the Bretagne Nobility, ſome battalions and the militia whom he met upon the road *. He forced the Engliſh to re-embark. One party of their rear-guard was killed, and another made priſoners of war. But the French were unfortunate every where elſe.

The Engliſh never had ſuch a ſuperiority at ſea as at this time; but they ever maintained it over the French. They deſtroyed the marine of France in the war of 1741; they annihilated that of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; they triumphed at ſea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and more ſo in the unhappy times of the League. Henry VIII. of England had the ſame advantage over Francis I.

If we examine into the preceding times, we ſhall find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois could not withſtand thoſe of the Kings of England Henry V. and Edward III.

* September 1, 1758.

What can be the reaſon of this continual ſuperiority? Is it not that the ſea is eſſentially neceſſary to the Engliſh, which the French may well enough do without, and that nations always ſucceed (as I have already remarked) in thoſe things for which they have an abſolute occaſion? Is it not alſo becauſe the capital of England is a ſea-port, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the Engliſh climate produces men of a more vigorous conſtitution, and a more ſteady mind, than that of France, as it produces the beſt horſes and dogs for hunting? But from Bayonne even to the coaſts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of indefatigable induſtry, and Normandy only has formerly ſubdued England.

Affairs were in this deplorable condition both by ſea and land, when a man of an active and bold genius, but prudent, having views as great as thoſe of Marſhal Belleiſle, with more ſenſe obſerved, that France could not alone repair ſo many enormous loſſes. He found means to engage Spain to ſupport the quarrel; he made it the common cauſe of all the branches of the Houſe of Bourbon. By this means Spain and Auſtria were joined with France in the ſame intereſt. Portugal was in effect an Engliſh Province, from whom ſhe drew fifteen millions yearly. It was neceſſary to begin at this corner; and this was what determined Don Carlos, King of Spain (by the death of his brother Ferdinand), to enter Portugal. This manœuvre was perhaps the greateſt politic ſcheme of which modern hiſtory makes mention. But yet this did not ſucceed; for the Engliſh repulſed Spain, and ſaved Portugal. Formerly under Philip II. Spain alone was formidable to all Europe; and now, though joined to the French, could do nothing with England. Count de la Lippe Schombourg, a Weſtphalian Lord, was ſent to the ſuccour of Portugal by the King of England. He had never commanded in chief, and had but few troops. However, as ſoon as he arrived, he gained the ſuperiority over the Spaniards and French united, withſtood all their efforts, and eſtabliſhed Portugal in ſafety.

At the ſame time an Engliſh fleet made them pay dear in America for their tardy declaration in favour of France*.

The Havannah, built upon the north coaſt of Cuba, the greateſt American Iſland at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, is the rendezvous of this new world. The harbour, as large as it is ſafe, could contain a thouſand veſſels; it is defended by three forts, from whence went a croſs fire, which rendered the landing impoſſible to enemies. The Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock came to attack the Iſland, but did not attempt approaching the port. They deſcended* upon a diſtant flat ſhore, which was imagined impoſſible to be landed on. The moſt conſiderable fort they beſieged by land, which they took; and forced the town, the forts, and all the iſland to ſurrender, with twelve ſhips of war which were in the port, and twenty-ſeven veſſels laden with treaſure. They found in the town twenty-four millions of livres in ſpecie, which was divided between the conquerors, who ſet aſide the ſixteenth part of this booty for the poor. The ſhips of war belonged of right to the King, but the merchantmen to the Admiral and all the officers of the fleet; and the whole booty amounted to more than eighty millions. It has been remarked, that in this and the preceding war, Spain loſt more than it had drawn from America during the ſpace of twenty years.

The Engliſh, not content with having taken the Havannah in the Mexican ſea, and the Iſland of Cuba, extended their conqueſts to the Philippine Iſlands in the Indian ſea, which are very near the antipodes of Cuba. Theſe Iſlands are not much leſs than thoſe of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would be richer if they were well managed, one of them having gold mines, and their coaſts producing pearls. The great Acapulco veſſel, loaded to the value of three millions of piaſtres, arrived at Manilla, the capital, which the Engliſh took, with the iſles and this ſhip†, notwithſtand-

* Auguſt 13, 1762, † October 13, 1762.

ing the aſſurances given by the Jeſuit, in the name of St. Potamienne, (the patron of the town) that Manilla would never be taken.

Thus the war, which impoveriſhed other nations, enriched one part of England, while the other groaned under the weight of the moſt heavy taxes, as well as all other Nations engaged in the war.

France was at this time more unfortunate. All its reſources were exhauſted; almoſt all the citizens, by the King's example, carried their plate to the mint. The principal towns and ſome ſocieties agreed to furniſh men of war at their own expence; but theſe ſhips were not yet built, and had they been ready, there were not experienced ſeamen ſufficient to man them.

Paſt misfortunes render people fearful of future ones. The capital, which is never expoſed to the ſcourge of war, exclaimed even louder than the ſuffering Provinces, "No more ſuccours, money, or credit." Thoſe who had been choſen to manage the finances, after ſome months adminiſtration, were turned out; and others refuſed this employment, in which, at this juncture, it was impoſſible to do any good.

In this ſorrowful ſituation, which diſcouraged all orders of the Kingdom, the Duke de Praſlin, then Miniſter* for foreign affairs, was ingenious and happy enough to conclude a peace, the negotiation for which had been ſet on foot by the Duke de Choiſeul, Miniſter of the war department.

The King of France exchanged Minorca (which he had before reſtored to Spain) for Belleiſle, which the Engliſh reſtored to the French; but they loſt (probably for ever) all Canada, with Louiſbourg, which had coſt ſo much money and pains only to be ſo often a prey to the Engliſh. All the land upon the left of the great river Miſſiſſippi was ceded to them. Spain, to encompaſs their conqueſts, alſo gave them Florida. Thus, from the twenty-fifth degree to the Pole, almoſt all is in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, who divided the Ame-

* February 10, 1763.

rican Hemiſphere with the Spaniards. The latter poſſeſs the lands which produce the riches of convention; the former the real riches purchaſed by ſilver and gold, all the neceſſaries of life, and every thing uſeful for manufactures. The Engliſh coaſts, for the ſpace of ſix hundred leagues, are divided by navigable rivers, by which their merchandizes are conveyed for forty or fifty leagues inland. The Germans were induced to people this acquired country, where they found a liberty which they poſſeſſed not in their own. They became Engliſh; and if all theſe colonies remain united to their metropolis, it is not to be doubted but this eſtabliſhment will ſome time or other make the moſt formidable Power. The war commenced for a few pitiful huts, and England has gained two thouſand leagues of empire.

The ſmall Iſlands of St. Vincent, Grenades, Tobago, and Dominica, were likewiſe gained by them; and it is by the means of theſe Iſlands, as well as Jamaica, that they maintain an immenſe commerce with the Spaniards; —a commerce ſeverely prohibited, and always carried on, becauſe the ſubjects of both Nations gain by it, and that the law of neceſſity claims the preference to all others.

France could obtain only (and that with great difficulty) the right of fiſhing towards Newfoundland, and a little uncultivated Iſland, named Michelon, to dry their cod-fiſh, under the reſtriction of not making the leaſt eſtabliſhment; a pitiful right, always ſubject to inſults.

She was alſo excluded in the Indies from her eſtabliſhment upon the Ganges. She ceded her poſſeſſion at Senegal in Africa, and was obliged to demoliſh all the fortifications at Dunkirk on the ſea-ſide.

This Nation loſt, in the courſe of this unfortunate war, great part of the flower of its youth, more than half of the current money of the Kingdom, its navy, commerce, and credit. It was believed, that it was very eaſy to have prevented all theſe misfortunes, by giving up to the Engliſh a little piece of litigated ground towards Canada. But ſome ambitious perſons, to make themſelves

themſelves neceſſary and important, plunged France into this fatal war. It was the ſame in the year 1741. The ſelfiſhneſs of two or three individuals is ſufficient to deſolate all Europe. France had ſo preſſing an occaſion for this peace, that they conſidered the concluders of it as the ſavers of their country. The national debt was greater than that of Louis XIV. The extraordinary expences of this war amounted in one year to four hundred millions. Judge of the reſt by this. France would have been greatly a loſer, had ſhe even been victorious.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Interior Government of France. Quarrels and Adventures, from 1750 to 1762.

FOR a long time before this unhappy war, and during its continuance, the interior parts of France were troubled with that ancient and indeterminable war between the ſecular juriſdiction and the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The extent of their power having never been limited, as it now is in England, in other countries, and particularly in Ruſſia, dangerous diſſentions will always ariſe, as long as the rights of the Monarchy and thoſe of its different members are in diſpute.

About the year 1750, a Miniſter of the finances was found bold enough to iſſue an order that the Clergy and the religious orders ſhould give an account of their wealth, to the end that the King might ſee, by what they poſſeſſed, how far they were taxable. Never was a propoſition more juſt; but the conſequences of it appeared to be a ſacrilege. An old Biſhop of Marſeilles wrote to the Comptroller-general thus: "Do not drive us to the "neceſſity of diſobeying either God or our King; you "are ſenſible which of the two ſhould have the prefe-"rence." This letter from the Biſhop, worn out with age, and incapable of writing, was written by a Jeſuit, named Le Maire, who governed the Biſhop and his

houſe. This Jeſuit was a zealous fanatic;—a ſort of men who are always dangerous.

The Miniſter was obliged to drop an undertaking that he ought not to have hazarded, if it could not be ſupported. Some individuals of the Clergy imagined now, that they could fully employ Government by an embarraſſing diverſion, and put the ſpiritual body in arms in order to make the temporal reſpect them. They knew that the famous bull Unigenitus was held in execration by the people. It was reſolved to demand of dying perſons confeſſional notes; and it was made neceſſary that theſe notes ſhould be ſigned by prieſts adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction; and theſe two conſolations were refuſed without pity to all appellants, and to thoſe who confeſſed to appellants. The Archbiſhop of Paris engaged deeply in this manœuvre, more from a theological zeal than a factious ſpirit.

On the inſtant every family was alarmed, the ſchiſm was declared, and many of the ſect of Janſeniſts began to exclaim, that if the ſacraments were to be obtained with ſuch difficulty, the people would ſoon diſpenſe with them, in imitation of other nations. Theſe civil diſſentions engaged the attention of the Pariſians more than all the important intereſts of Europe. They were a kind of inſects ſprung from the carcaſſes of Moliniſm and Janſeniſm, which, buzzing round the city, ſtung all the citizens. No remembrance of Metz, of Fontenoy, of their diſgraces or victories, or of any of thoſe great events which had agitated all Europe. In Paris, there were fifty thouſand perſons poſſeſſed like devils, who knew not in what country the Danube or the Elbe flowed, and who thought the univerſe overturned by theſe notes of confeſſion.---Such are the populace!

A curate of St. Etienne-du-Mont, a little pariſh of Paris, having refuſed the ſacrament to a counſellor of the Chatelet, the Parliament committed him to priſon.

The King beholding this little civil war excited between the Parliaments and Biſhops, forbad his Courts of Judicature to intermeddle with the affairs of the ſacraments,

craments, and reſerved the cognizance thereof to his Privy-Council. The Parliaments complained that the exerciſe of the general police of the Kingdom was thus taken from them, and the Clergy ſuffered with impatience the royal authority to interfere in any religious quarrels. Thus animoſities increaſed on all ſides.

The place of Superior of the hoſpital for poor girls, ſerved to ſet the flames of diſcord in a blaze. The Archbiſhop claimed the prerogative of nomination; the Parliament of Paris oppoſed it; and the King having decided in favour of the Prelate, the Parliament ceaſed to perform its functions, and neglected the diſtribution of juſtice. He then found it expedient to ſend, by his muſqueteers, lettres-de-cachet to each of the Members of the Court, commanding them to re-aſſume their functions, under pain of diſobedience.

The Chambers then ſat as uſual; but when they were to hear cauſes, they could find no advocates. Theſe proceedings reſembled, in ſome meaſure, the times of the League; but, being ſtripped of the horrors of civil war, they appeared only under a form ſuſceptible of ridicule.

This folly, however, was very embarraſſing. The King reſolved to extinguiſh, by his moderation, this fire, which cauſed an apprehenſion of a conflagration: he exhorted the Clergy not to uſe dangerous rigours; and the Parliament proceeded again to buſineſs.

But ſoon after, the notes of confeſſion appeared again *, and freſh denials of the ſacraments irritated all Paris. The ſame curate of St. Etienne being found guilty of a ſecond prevarication, was ſent for to Parliament, who forbad him and all the curates to give the like ſcandal, under pain of ſeizing his temporalities. The ſame decree invited the Archbiſhop to put an end to this ſcandal by his own authority. This term of *invitation* ſeemed to agree with the views of the King's moderation. The Archbiſhop not allowing the ſecular power to have the right of giving him even an invitation, repaired to

* Febrary 1752.

Verſailles, and complained. He was ſupported in this by an ancient Biſhop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, charged with the office of preſenting to the King proper perſons for eccleſiaſtical benefices. This man, formerly a Theatin *, afterwards Biſhop, and then Miniſter of this department, was of a very limited underſtanding, but zealous for the immunities of the Church: he regarded the bull as an article of faith; and having all the credit attached to his place, inſinuated that the Parliament undermined the authority of the Church. The parliamentary decree was annulled, which occaſioned ſtrong and pathetical remonſtrances on their part.

The King ordered that they ſhould reſtrict themſelves to the giving an account of all the reſolutions they ſhould make upon theſe matters to him, reſerving to himſelf the right of puniſhing thoſe prieſts whoſe ſcandalous zeal ſhould revive the ſeeds of ſchiſm. By a ſentence of his Council of State, he forbad his ſubjects the giving one another the names of Noveliſts, of Janſeniſts, and of Semi-pelagians:—this was ordering madmen to be wiſe.

The curates of Paris, excited by the Archbiſhop, preſented a petition to the King in favour of the notes of confeſſion. Immediately the Parliament ſentenced the curate of St. John's en Greve, who had framed the petition; and the King again annulled this proceeding of juſtice. The Parliament neglected their buſineſs, and coninued their remonſtrances, and the King perſiſted in exhorting the two parties to peace; but his cares proved uſeleſs.

A letter from the Biſhop of Marſeilles, condemned by the Parliament, was burnt by the hands of the hangman. A writing of the Biſhop of Amiens ſhared the ſame fate. The Clergy being aſſembled at this time at Paris to pay five years ſubſidies to the King, as uſual, reſolved to go in their pontificals, and preſent their complaints; but he would not permit ſo extraordinary a proceſſion.

* Theatin, a ſort of religious order.

On

On the other ſide *, the Parliament condemned a bearer of the ſacrament in a fine, to aſk pardon upon his knees, and to be admoniſhed; and a vicar of a pariſh to baniſhment. The King alſo annulled this ſentence.

Theſe troubleſome affairs multiplied. The King always recommended peace, while the eccleſiaſtics ſtill refuſed the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and the Parliament continued to proceed againſt them.

At laſt †, the King gave the Parliaments permiſſion to judge of the ſacraments, in caſes brought before them; but forbad them the ſeeking of juriſdiction, if the parties did not complain to them. They then a ſecond time reſumed their functions ‡; and litigious clients, whoſe ſuits had been poſtponed on theſe accounts, were now left at liberty to ruin themſelves at law as uſual.

The fire ſtill lay ſmothered under the aſhes §. The Archbiſhop having ordered the ſacrament to be refuſed to two poor old nuns of St. Agatha, (who had formerly underſtood from their director the bull Unigenitus to be a diabolical work, who feared to incur damnation if they received this bull at their deaths, and were alſo fearful of it if they failed receiving extreme unction,) the Parliament ſent their Regiſter to the Archbiſhop, praying him not to refuſe the common aſſiſtance to theſe two women; and the prelate anſwering, according to cuſtom, that he ought not to account to any one but God alone, his temporalities were ſeized; and the Princes of the blood and the Peers were invited to come and take their ſeats in Parliament.

The quarrel then might have become ſerious; and it was feared that the times of the Fronde and the League were again returning. The King forbad his Princes and Peers to go and vote in the Parliament upon thoſe matters, which right he attributed to his Privy-Council. The Archbiſhop of Paris had even the credit to obtain a ſentence of the Council ‖ to diſſolve the little community of St. Agatha, where the women had ſo bad an opinion of the bull Unigenitus.

* Aug. 1752. † 1752. ‡ Nov. 1752. § Dec. 1752.

All

All Paris murmured. Theſe little vexations ſpread in more than one town. The ſame ſcandals, the ſame denials of the ſacrament, divided the town of Orleans. The Parliament iſſued the ſame ordinances for Orleans as for Paris; the ſchiſm was beginning to gather ſtrength. A curate of Roſinvilliers, in the dioceſe of Amiens, declared in his ſermon, "That thoſe who "were Janſeniſts muſt depart the church, and that he "would be the firſt to dip his hands in their blood." He had the confidence, alſo, to point out ſome of his pariſhioners, at whom the moſt fervent of the Conſtitutionaries* threw ſtones during the proceſſion, without either the ſtoners or the ſtoned having the leaſt knowledge of the meaning of the bull or of Janſeniſm.

Such a violence might have been puniſhed with death. The Parliament of Paris (Amiens being within its juriſdiction) was contented to baniſh for life this factious and ſanguinary prieſt; and the King approved of this ſentence, which was not inflicted purely for a ſpiritual offence, but for the crime of ſedition, and diſturbance of the public peace.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Louis XV. was like a father buſied in parting two fighting children. He forbad blows and inſults; he reprimanded one party, and exhorted the other; he commanded ſilence, forbidding the Parliaments to judge in ſpiritual affairs, recommending circumſpection to the Biſhops, regarding the bull as a law of the Church, but not willing that they ſhould diſpute upon ſo dangerous a point. His paternal care could do but little, with exaſperated and alarmed minds. The Parliaments pretended that they could not ſeparate the ſpiritual from the civil concerns, for that ſpiritual quarrels neceſſarily introduced civil commotions.

The Parliament of Paris cited the Biſhop of Orleans to make his appearance before the Court on account of the ſacraments, and ordered the hangman to burn all

* *Conſtitutionary*, or *Conſtitutionaliſt*, is the name given to thoſe who *ſwallowed the Bull*. Tranſlator.

the

the writings in which its juriſdiction was conteſted, except the ordinances of the King, ſending Counſellors to regiſter their decree in the Sorbonne, in ſpite of the King's orders *. The hangman was ſeen daily employed in burning the mandates of the Biſhops, and the tribunals of juſtice enforced the adminiſtration of the ſacraments to the ſick by military aid. The Parliament in all its meaſures conſulted only its own laws, and the maintenance of its authority. The King had a farther view, and conſidered thoſe exigencies which often require the laws to be relaxed.

In ſhort, for the third time, the Parliament ceaſed to diſtribute juſtice to the ſubject, and employed themſelves ſolely about the refuſal of the ſacraments, which agitated all France.

The King ſent alſo to Parliament, for the third time, mandatory letters, ordering them to fulfil their duties, and not to make his ſubjects having ſuits depending ſuffer any longer delay on account of the foreign diſputes, the affairs of private perſons having no relation to the bull Unigenitus.

The Parliament replied †, that it would violate its oath if it acknowledged the letters patent of the King, and that it could not *obtemperate*. (An old word, derived from the Latin, ſignifying to obey.)

The King then thought himſelf obliged to baniſh all the Members of the Court of Inqueſts, ſome to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and the reſt to Auvergne; and to order four of them into confinement, who had ſpoken with the greateſt freedom.

The Grand Chamber was ſpared; but they thought it not to their honour to be excepted, perſiſted in their neglect of their functions, and proceeded againſt the refractory. The King then ſent them to Pontoiſe, a village ſix miles from Paris, where the Duke of Orleans had before ſent them during his regency.

All Europe was aſtoniſhed that they made ſo much noiſe in France for ſo trifling an affair; and the French

* March, 1753. † May 6, 1753.

paſſed

paſſed for a frivolous nation, who, for want of having good laws aſcertained, threw every thing into diſorder about a diſpute every where elſe deſpiſed. After having ſeen five hundred thouſand men in arms for the election of an Emperor, and Europe, India, and America deſolated, that they ſhould afterwards fall back again into this paper-war, ſeemed to reſemble a ſhower of rain after a thunder-ſtorm. But it ought to be recollected, that Germany, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, had formerly experienced much greater concuſſions for as idle follies; that the Inquiſition of Spain was worſe than a civil war; and that every nation has its follies and misfortunes.

The Parliament of Normandy imitated the one at Paris with regard to the ſacraments *, citing the Biſhop of Evreux, and alſo neglecting the adminiſtration of juſtice. His Majeſty ſent an Officer of his guards to cancel the Regiſters of this Parliament, which became at length more ſupple than that of Paris.

Diſtributive juſtice ſuſpended in the capital would have been a great happineſs, if mankind were juſt and wiſe; but as they are neither one nor the other, and will go to law, the King commiſſioned the Members of his State-Council to determine all proceſſes brought before them in the laſt reſort. The commiſſion inſtituting this juriſdiction was ordered to be enregiſtered at the Chatelet; as if it were neceſſary for an inferior Court to give authenticity to the royal authority †. The uſage of theſe Regiſters has almoſt always had its inconveniencies; but this default of formality might, perhaps, have ſtill greater. The Chatelet refuſed to enregiſter; but it was obliged to it by mandatory letters. The Royal Council aſſembled, but the Advocates would not plead. This Royal Chamber was made a jeſt of in Paris; it even laughed at itſelf; every thing was turned into pleaſantry, according to the genius of the nation, which always laughs the next day at what had terrified or animated it the day before. The Eccleſiaſtics laughed likewiſe, but it was with joy on their triumph.

* July, 1753. † November.

Boyer,

Boyer, the old Biſhop of Mirepoix, who had been the firſt author of all theſe troubles, though not intentionally, being fallen into a dotage, owing to his great age and the weak conſtruction of his organs, every thing ſeemed to tend towards a conciliation *. The Miniſtry negotiated with the Parliament of Paris. This body was recalled, and came back, to the ſatisfaction of the whole town, uſhered in with the acclamations of the populace, who cried, Long live the Parliament! Its return was a triumph †. His Majeſty, who was as much fatigued with the inflexibility of the Divines as of the Parliaments, commanded peace and ſilence, and permitted the ſecular Judges to proceed againſt thoſe who diſturbed either.

Yet the ſchiſm broke out from time to time in Paris and in the Provinces ‡; and in ſpite of the meaſures that the King had taken to prevent the refuſal of the ſacraments, many Biſhops endeavoured to make a merit of it at the Court of Rome. A Biſhop of Nantz having given in that town this example of rigour or of ſcandal, was condemned by the ſimple Preſidial of Nantz to pay a fine of ſix thouſand francs, and paid it without any relief from the royal interpoſition ſo heartily tired was the King grown of theſe diſputes.

The like ſcenes happened in all the Kingdom; and while they afflicted the parties intereſted, they amuſed the idle multitude. In Orleans, there was an old Canon, a Janſeniſt, who died, to whom his brother Canons refuſed the communion ‖; and the Parliament of Paris condemned them to pay twelve thouſand livres, and gave orders that the ſick ſhould receive the communion. The Lieutenant-Criminal in conſequence ſet every thing in order for this ceremony, as for an execution; the Prebends however ſo contrived, that their brother died without the ſacraments, and they buried him in the moſt pitiful manner they could.

Nothing was become more common in the Kingdom, than to adminiſter the communion by order of Parliament.

* July, 1754. † Auguſt. ‡ September. ‖ October.

ment. The King having baniſhed his ſecular Judges for not having *obtemperated* his orders, in order to ſhew his impartiality, baniſhed alſo ſuch of the Clergy as were ſtifly bent on ſchiſm, and began with the Archbiſhop of Paris*. He was confined to his houſe at Conflans, about three leagues from the town; a mild exile, which reſembled rather a paternal reproof than a puniſhment.

The Biſhops of Orleans and Troyes were in like manner baniſhed to their country-houſes with the ſame mildneſs. The Archbiſhop of Paris being ſtill as inflexible in his houſe at Conflans as in his epiſcopal palace, was baniſhed to a greater diſtance.

The Parliament of Paris, now acting without reſtraint, reproved the Sorbonne, who, having formerly regarded the bull with horror, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The Sorbonne threatened to ſtop their lectures; and the Parliament, which had itſelf neglected more important buſineſs, ordered this Faculty to continue theirs. They maintained the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the King approved it; but when the Parliament went too far, the King ſtopped them, by confirming thoſe decrees which tended to the public good, and annulling thoſe which appeared to him to be raſh and intemperate.

This Monarch always ſaw himſelf between two powerful and incenſed factions, as the Roman Emperors were between the Blue and Green. He was taken up with the maritime war which England was juſt beginning with him; a land one appeared inevitable; and it was no longer a time to contend about bulls.

But it was yet neceſſary for the King to appeaſe the diſputes ſubſiſting between his Grand Council and the Parliaments; for ſcarcely any thing being determined in France by preciſe laws, the bounds and privileges of each body being uncertain, the Clergy being always inclined to extend their juriſdiction, the Chamber of Accounts having diſputed with the Parliaments many pre-

* December, 1754.

rogatives,

rogatives, the Peers having often pleaded theirs againſt the Parliament of Paris, it was not to be wondered at that the Grand Council ſhould likewiſe diſpute with them.

This Grand Council was originally the King's Council, and uſed to accompany the Sovereigns in all their travels. Every thing by degrees altered in public adminiſtration, and the Grand Council changed alſo. Under Charles VIII. it was only a Court of Judicature. It decided concerning evocations *, the competency of Judges, and all proceedings reſpecting all the benefices of the kingdom, except the regal; and had a right alſo to try its own officers. A Counſellor belonging to this Court was ſummoned to the Chatelet for debt †. The Grand Council claimed the cauſe, and ſet aſide the ſentence of the Chatelet. Immediately the Parliament was in an alarm, and rendered void the ſentence of the Grand Council, and the King annulled that of the Parliament. Freſh remonſtrances, freſh quarrels ſucceeded; all the Parliaments roſe againſt the Grand Council, and the Public divided on the diſpute. The Parliament of Paris again convoked the Peers upon this infringement on their authority, and the King forbad the Peers this aſſociation. Thus this affair, like many others, remains undecided.

In the mean time, the King had more important occupations. It was neceſſary to carry on againſt the Engliſh a burthenſome war, both by ſea and land; yet he eſtabliſhed at this time the memorable foundation of the Military School, the fineſt monument of his reign, and which the Empreſs-Queen Maria-Thereſa has ſince imitated. He wanted ſome aid of finance, and the Parliaments heſitated about regiſtering the edicts which ordered the collection of two twentieths. They have been ſince obliged to pay three; becauſe, whenever there is a war, either the citizens muſt fight, or pay thoſe that will: there is no alternative.

* A law-term, for removing a cauſe from an inferior Court to a ſuperior Tribunal.

† January, February, March, 1756.

The

The King held a Bed of Juſtice at Verſailles *, where he convoked the Princes and the Peers, with the Pariſian Parliament. There he ordered his edict to be regiſtered; but the Parliament, on its return to Paris, proteſted againſt the regiſtry, and pretended that it not only had been deprived of the neceſſary liberty of examination, but that this edict required modifications which would neither prejudice the intereſts of the King nor thoſe of the kingdom, which are in effect the ſame, which it had ſworn to maintain; adding, that its duty was not to pleaſe, but to ſerve: —thus zeal combated obedience.

The thorns of ſchiſm interfered with this important affair of the taxes. A Counſellor of the Parliament lying ſick in the country, in the dioceſe of Meaux, demanded the ſacraments. A curate refuſed them to him as an enemy to the church, and let him die without this ceremony. They proceeded againſt the curate, who fled.

The Archbiſhop of Aix made a new formulary upon the bull, and the Parliament of Aix ſentenced him to pay ten thouſand livres to the poor. He was obliged to pay this fine; and thus were his formulary and his caſh diſpoſed of.

The Biſhop of Troyes having troubled his dioceſe, the King ſent him priſoner to a monaſtery in Alſace †. The Archbiſhop of Paris, who had been permitted to return from Conflans, pronounced an excommunication againſt thoſe who read the ordinances and remonſtrances of the Parliament upon the bull and letters of confeſſion.

Louis XV. embarraſſed by ſuch a number of animoſities, carried his circumſpection ſo far as to aſk the advice of Pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV. a man as moderate as himſelf, beloved throughout Chriſtendom for the mildneſs and vivacity of his character, and whoſe loſs is every hour regretted more and more. He never engaged in any affair but to recommend peace. It was his Secretary of the Briefs, Cardinal Paſſionei, that tranſacted every thing. This Cardinal, the only man

* Auguſt 2, 1756. † September.

of letters in the Sacred College, was of ſo elevated a genius as to deſpiſe the diſputes in queſtion. He hated the Jeſuits, who had fabricated the bull, and could not be ſilent upon the falſe ſtep that had been made at Rome, by condemning, in this bull, virtuous maxims, whoſe truth is immortal, and appertaining to all times and all nations; the following, for example, "the "fear of an unjuſt excommunication ought not to hin-"der us from the performance of our duty."

This maxim is throughout the world the ſafeguard of virtue. All the ancients, all the moderns have ſaid, that duty ought to prevail even over the fear of death itſelf.

But however abſurd the bull appeared in more than one point, neither Cardinal Paſſionei nor the Pope could retract a conſtitution regarded as a law of the Church. Benedict XIV. ſent to the King a circular letter for all the Biſhops of France, in which he acknowledged this bull as an univerſal law, againſt which no reſiſtance could be made, "without endangering their "eternal ſalvation;" but decided, finally, that, "to "avoid ſcandal, it was neceſſary for the prieſt to caution "ſick perſons, who were ſuſpected of Janſeniſm, that "they incurred damnation, and then to let them com-"municate at their riſque and peril."

The ſame Pope, in his private letter to the King, recommended to him the epiſcopal rights. When a Pope is conſulted upon any occaſion whatever, we muſt expect that his advice will be conformable to his ſtation.

But Benedict XIV. while he maintained the reſpect due to his rank, did all he could in favour of the King's authority, of decorum, and of the peace of the nation. His brief, addreſſed to the Biſhops, was printed. The Parliament had the courage, or the raſhneſs, to condemn and ſuppreſs it, by an arret *. This proceeding offended the King ſtill more, becauſe it was he who had ſent this brief to the Biſhops, which the Parliament had condemned. In this brief, neither the liberties of the

* December 9, 1756.

Gallican church, or of the royal authority, were mentioned, which the Parliament had maintained and vindicated at all times. The Court diſcovered in the cenſure of the Parliament more ill-humour than moderation.

The Council believed that they had another ſubject on which they could reprove the conduct of the Parliament of Paris; many other ſuperior Courts, which bore the name of Parliaments, intitled themſelves, "Claſſes "of the Parliament of the Kingdom;" a title which the Chancellor de l'Hôpital had given them: it ſignified only the union of the Parliaments in the intelligence and maintenance of the laws. The Parliaments did not pretend to repreſent the whole State, divided into different companies, which all together making a ſingle body, conſtitute the perpetual States-General of the Kingdom. This idea would have been very great, but it would have been too much, and the royal authority was jealous of it.

Theſe conſiderations, joined to the difficulty that was made upon the enregiſtering the taxes, determined the King to come and reform the Parliament of Paris, by holding a bed of juſtice.

However ſecret the Miniſtry kept this meaſure, it tranſpired to the public. The King was received in Paris with a ſullen ſilence. The public conſider Parliaments only as the oppoſers of taxes, and never examine if theſe taxes are neceſſary; nor even make the reflection, that they ſell their labour and merchandizes in proportion to them; and that the burthen falls upon the rich, who conſequently are the firſt to complain, and to encourage the murmurs of the populace.

In this war, the Engliſh had been loaded with taxes more than the French; but that people tax themſelves, and know upon what articles the impoſts are to be laid. France is taxed, and never knows upon what ſhall be aſſigned the funds deſtined for the payment of their loans. In England, the public taxes are not farmed to individuals, who enrich themſelves at the nation's expence; but this is the caſe in France. The Parliaments of France have always made remonſtrances to their Kings

againſt this abuſe; but there are times when theſe remonſtrances, and eſpecially making difficulties about enregiſtering, are more dangerous than the taxes themſelves, becauſe a war demands preſent ſuccour, and the abuſes of theſe ſupplies cannot be corrected, perhaps, but with length of time.

The King came to Parliament, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he ſuppreſſed two Chambers of this body, and ſeveral officers. He ordered, that the bull Unigenitus ſhould be reſpected, and forbad the ſecular Judges to order the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, permitting them only to judge of abuſes and offences committed in adminiſtering them; enjoining the Biſhops to preſcribe to all their miniſters diſcretion and moderation; and recommended that all paſt quarrels ſhould be buried in oblivion. He ordered * that no Counſellor ſhould have a deliberative voice † before he was twenty-five years of age; and that no one ſhould vote in the Aſſembly of the Chambers 'till he had ſerved ten years; and finally, made the moſt expreſs "inhibi-"tions againſt interrupting, under any pretence what-"ever, the ordinary buſineſs."

The Chancellor put theſe orders to the vote, for form's ſake; but the Parliament kept a profound ſilence. The King then ſaid, he would be obeyed, and that "he would puniſh whoever dared to ſwerve from "his duty."

The next day fifteen Counſellors of the Great Chamber lodged their reſignation at the office. One hundred and twenty-four Members of Parliament ſoon followed their example, and univerſal murmurings prevailed throughout the city.

Among ſuch a number of diſputes which occaſioned a general fermentation, in the midſt of a horrid war, and in this confuſed ſtate of the finances, which rendered this war ſtill more dangerous, and irritated the animoſity of

* December 13, 1756.

† A power or right of arguing, reaſoning, or debating upon any ſubject that was moved in Parliament. *Tranſlator.*

the malecontents; in fine, amidſt the thorns of diviſion ſown on all ſides between the magiſtrates and the clergy; in ſuch a general uproar, it was very difficult to do any good, and it remained only to prevent the execution of much evil.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An Attempt againſt the King's Perſon.

THESE emotions of the people were ſoon buried in a general conſternation, occaſioned by a moſt horrid and unexpected accident. The King was ſtabbed in the Court of Verſailles*, in the preſence of his ſon, in the midſt of his guards, and of the great officers of the crown. The following is an account of this ſtrange event.

A miſerable wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert-Francis Damiens, born in a village near Arras, had been a conſiderable time a ſervant in ſeveral houſes in Paris: he was a man whoſe gloomy and fiery diſpoſition had always bordered upon madneſs.

The general murmurs that he had heard in all public places, in the grand hall of the palace and elſewhere, heated his imagination. He went to Verſailles like a diſtracted perſon, and in thoſe agitations which his inconceivable deſign threw him into, he deſired to be blooded at his inn. Phyſic has ſo great an influence over the minds of men, that he proteſted afterwards in his interrogatories, "That if his requeſt had been complied with, he ſhould not have committed the crime."

His deſign was the moſt unheard-of that ever entered the head of a monſter of this ſort: he did not intend to kill the King, as in effect he declared ſince, and as unfortunately he could have done, but was reſolved to

* January 5, 1757.

wound

wound him; and this is in reality what he declared in his criminal proſecution before the parliament:

"I had not the intention of killing the King. I "could have done it, had I had the inclination. All "that I did, was in order that God might touch his "heart, and incline him to re-eſtabliſh all things as they "ſhould be, and reſtore the tranquility of his domi-"nions; and the Archbiſhop of Paris alone is the ſole "cauſe of all theſe troubles *."

This idea had inflamed his mind to ſuch a degree, that in another interrogatory he ſaid,

"I have mentioned Counſellors of Parliament, be-"cauſe I have ſerved one, and becauſe almoſt all men "are enraged at the conduct of the Archbiſhop†." In a word, fanaticiſm had troubled the mind of this unfortunate man ſo far, that in the interrogatories he underwent at Verſailles, are found theſe his own words:

"Being interrogated what motives had excited him "to aſſaſſinate the King's perſon, he replied, That it "was for the cauſe of religion ‡."

All the aſſaſſinators of Chriſtian Princes have urged this cauſe. The King of Portugal had not been aſſaſſinated but by virtue of the deciſion of three Jeſuits. It is very well known that Henry III. and IV. of France periſhed by the hands of fanatics; but with this difference, they loſt their lives becauſe they appeared to be enemies of the Pope, and the life of Louis XV. was attempted becauſe he ſeemed to be too complaiſant to him.

The aſſaſſin was furniſhed with a ſpring-knife, at one end carrying a long ſharp-pointed blade, and at the other, a penknife about four inches in length. He waited for the moment when the King ſhould ſtep into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near ſix in the evening, quite duſky, and exceedingly cold; almoſt all the courtiers wore cloaks, which, by corruption, are

* Interrogatory of the 18th of January, Article 144, P. 132, of the proceſs of Damiens, in 4to.

† Interrogatory of the 6th of March, P. 289. ‡ P. 45.

called *redingotes**. The aſſaſſin, thus dreſſed, proceeded towards the guards, and in paſſing run againſt the Dauphin: he then forced his way through the file of the gardes-du-corps, and of the one hundred Swiſs, came up to the King, and ſtabbed him with the penknife in the fifth rib, then put his knife in his pocket, and remained with his hat upon his head. The King finding himſelf wounded, turned about, and eſpying this ſtranger, who was covered, and whoſe eyes ſtared wildly, he ſaid, "That is the man who ſtabbed me; "arreſt him, but do him no harm."

While every one was ſeized with fright and horror, the King was carried in to his bed, ſurgeons ſought, and it was uncertain whether his wound was mortal or not, or whether the knife was empoiſoned. The parricide often repeated, "Let them take care of Monſeigneur le Dau- "phin, that he does not go out the whole day."

At theſe words the univerſal alarm redoubled. It was not doubted that there was a conſpiracy againſt the Royal Family: every one figured to himſelf the greateſt dangers, the greateſt and moſt premeditated crimes.

Happily, the King's wound was but ſlight; but the general trouble was conſiderable; and fears, ſuſpicions, and intrigues, multiplied at court. The Grand Provoſt of the Houſhold, to whom the puniſhment of crimes committed in the King's Palace belongs, immediately ſeized the parricide, and commenced the proceedings in form, as practiſed at St. Cloud, on the aſſaſſination of Henry III. An exempt of the Provoſt's guard having obtained a little confidence, either ſeeming or real, in the diſtempered mind of this wretch, engaged him to be ſo hardy as to write a letter from his priſon to the King himſelf†. Damiens write to the King! An aſſaſſin write to him whom he had aſſaſſinated!

* From the Engliſh word *Riding-coats*.

† The following is a copy of this curious letter.

"Sir, I am very ſorry I had the misfortune to aſſault you; but "if you do not take your people's part, before ſome years have

† This letter is found in page 69, of the proceſs againſt Damiens, given to the public by the Criminal Regiſter of the Parliament, by permiſſion of his ſuperiors.

His

His letter is fooliſh, and conformable to the meanneſs of his condition; but it diſcovers the object of his fury.

" expired, you and Monſieur le Dauphin and ſome others will periſh. " It will be a pity that ſo good a Prince, for the kindneſs he has " for the eccleſiaſtics, in whom he places all his confidence, ſhould " not be ſure of his life; and if you have not the goodneſs to re- " medy it in a little time, very great misfortunes will ariſe, your " Kingdom not being in ſurety. Unhappily for you, your ſubjects " have given you their reſignation; the affair proceeds not from " them; and if you have not the goodneſs for your people, to order " the adminiſtration of the ſacraments in the article of death, they " having refuſed it ſince your ſitting in juſtice, on which account " the Chatelet have directed the moveables of the Prieſts who fled, " to be ſold, I repeat it to you, your life is not in ſafety. I ſpeak " from good authority, and I take the liberty of informing you of " it by the officer who brings you this, and in whom I have placed " all my confidence. The Archbiſhop of Paris is the cauſe of all " this trouble, by his ordering the ſacraments to be refuſed. After " the barbarous crime that I have committed againſt your ſacred " perſon, the ſincere confeſſion I take the liberty of making to you, " gives me hope that I ſhall receive the goodneſs of your Majeſty's " clemency.

" Signed, DAMIENS."

At the back of the ſaid letter is written, flouriſhed, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the deſire of the interrogator of Francis Damiens, dated the 9th day of January 1757, at Verſailles, preſent, the King.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flouriſhes.

And lower down is written: To the King.

Then follows the tenor of a writing, Signed, DAMIENS.

(Copy of the billet.)

Meſſieurs, Chagrange, ſecond,
Baiſſe de Liſſe *
De la Guiomye,
Clement,
Lambert,
The preſident de Rieux Bonnainvilliers,
Preſident de Maſſy, and almoſt all.

It is neceſſary that the King re-eſtabliſh his Parliament, and ſupport them, with a promiſe of doing nothing to theſe above-mentioned and their aſſociates.

Signed, DAMIENS.

And lower down is written.

Flouriſhed, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the deſire of the interrogator of this day, being the 9th of January 1757.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with a flouriſh.

The ſaid letter, as well as the ſaid writing, was annexed to the minutes of the ſaid interrogatories.

* This wretch mangled the names of almoſt all of whom he ſpoke.

fury. In it is ſeen, that the public complaints againſt the Archbiſhop had turned the criminal's brain, and excited him to his vile attempt. It appeared by the names of the members of Parliament cited in his letter, that he knew them by ſerving one of their brethren; but it would have been abſurd to ſuppoſe that they had explained their ſentiments to him, and much leſs that they had ever ſpoken, or even dropped a word to encourage him to the crime.

So the King did not heſitate to refer his puniſhment to thoſe of the Grand Chamber who had not reſigned. He inſiſted even that the Princes and Peers ſhould, by their preſence, add more authenticity and ſolemnity, in all points, to the trial in the eyes of the public, who are as ſuſpicious as curious exaggerators, and who always ſee in theſe horrid adventures beyond the truth. Never, in effect, did truth appear more clearly.

It is evident, that this madman had no accomplice. He always declared, he did not think of killing the King; but that he had formed the deſign to wound him, ever ſince the baniſhment of the Parliament *.

Directly, upon the firſt interrogatory, he ſaid †, "That "religion alone had determined him to this attempt."

He acknowledged that he only ſpoke bad of the Moliniſts ‡, and thoſe who refuſed the ſacraments; and that theſe people apparently believe in two Gods.

He cried out on the torture, "I thought I ſhould "have done a meritorious work for Heaven; and it is "what I have heard ſaid by all the prieſts in the Pa-"lace ‖." He conſtantly perſiſted in ſaying that it was the Archbiſhop of Paris, the refuſal of the ſacraments, and the diſgraces of the Parliament, that had ſtirred him to this act of parricide: he declared the ſame again to his confeſſors. This wretched man was no more than a fooliſh fanatic, leſs abominable, in fact, than Ravaillac and John Chatel, but more mad, and having no more accomplices than thoſe two furies had. The only ac-

* Interrogatory before the Parliament, page 132, and 135.
† P. 131. ‡ P. 145. ‖ P. 405.

complices, generally, for theſe monſters, are fanatics, whoſe heated brains light up, without knowing it, a fire in weak, deſperate, hardened minds. A few words dropped by chance is ſufficient to ſet them on flames. Damiens acted under the ſame illuſion as Ravaillac, and died in the ſame torments *.

What is then the effect of fanaticiſm, and the deſtiny of Kings? Henry III. and IV. were aſſaſſinated becauſe they ſupported their rights againſt the Clergy; and Louis XV. becauſe he was reproached with uſing too little ſeverity againſt one. Behold three Kings upon whom the hands of parricides have fallen, in a country renowned for the love of its ſovereigns!

The father, wife and daughter of Damiens, although innocent, were baniſhed the kingdom, with a prohibition againſt returning, under pain of death; and, by the ſame ſentence, all his relations were obliged to quit the name of Damiens, which was become execrable.

This event occaſioned thoſe, who by their unhappy eccleſiaſtical quarrels had been the cauſe of this great crime, to return, for ſome time, to their ſenſes. It is too evidently ſeen what a dogmatical ſpirit, and the bigotry of religion, can produce. No one could have imagined that a bull, and tickets of confeſſion, could have had ſuch horrible events; but ſo it is, that the foibles and fury of mankind are cloſely united. The ſpirits of Poltrot and James Clement, which were reputed to be annihilated, ſtill ſubſiſt in the ſouls of the ignorant and ferocious. Reaſon in vain guides thoſe of higher rank; the populace are always inclined to fanaticiſm; and perhaps there is no other remedy for this contagion, than to enlighten, in the end, even the loweſt of the people; but, inſtead of that, they are educated in ſuperſtition, and afterwards men are aſtoniſhed at the conſequences of it.

In the mean time, ſixteen Counſellors, who had reſigned, were ſent into exile; and one of them †, who had been clerk, and afterwards was made Counſellor of

* March 28. † L'Abbe de Chauvelin.

honour,

honour, celebrated for his patriotic principles and eloquence, eſtabliſhed a perpetual maſs, to return God thanks for having preſerved the life of that King who had baniſhed him.

Many officers of the Parliament of Beſançon were confined in different towns for having refuſed to regiſter the ſecond twentieth penny, and giving a decree againſt the Intendant of the Province.

His Majeſty, notwithſtanding the wicked attempt made upon his perſon, and in ſpite of a ruinous war, conſtantly and carefully employed himſelf in ſtifling the quarrel of his Parliament and Clergy, endeavouring to reſtrict each power within its proper limits, or baniſhing the Archbiſhop of Paris once more, for having acted contrary to his laws, in the election of a ſuperior of a Convent. He afterwards recalled this Prelate, ſtill rendering his reſolution the more reſpectable by his moderation. At length, the affairs even of the Parliament of Paris were accommodated; the members of this body, who had reſigned, reſumed their poſts and functions; and every thing promiſed tranquility at home, till falſe zeal, and the ſpirit of party, ſhould occaſion freſh troubles.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Aſſaſſination of the King of Portugal. The Expulſion of the Jeſuits from thence, and afterwards from France.

A RELIGIOUS order ought not to make any part of a Hiſtory. No Hiſtorian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the eſtabliſhments of the prieſts of either Cybele or Juno. It is one of the misfortunes of our European policy, that the Monks, deſtined by their inſtitution to be unknown, have made as much noiſe in the world as princes, either by their immenſe riches, or the troubles they have excited, ever ſince their inſtitution.

It

It is well known, that the Jeſuits were the actual ſovereigns of Paraguay, while they acknowledged the King of Spain for its maſter. The Spaniſh Court had, by a treaty of exchange, ceded certain diſtricts of theſe lands to King Joſeph of Portugal, of the Houſe of Braganza. The Jeſuits were accuſed of having oppoſed this cedure, and of cauſing the people to revolt who were to have ſubmitted to the government of the Portugueze. This, joined to a number of other injuries, occaſioned the Jeſuits to be driven from the Court of Liſbon.

Some time after, the Tavora family, and particularly the Duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young Counteſs Ataïde d'Atouguia; the old Marquis and Marchioneſs of Tavora, the parents of the young Counteſs; and, in ſhort, Count Ataïde her huſband, and one of this unfortunate lady's brothers, imagining that they had received from the King an irreparable injury, reſolved to revenge themſelves. Vengeance and ſuperſtition are mutually linked. The meditators of a wicked attempt will always ſeek caſuiſts and confeſſors to encourage them in their villainy; and this family, thinking themſelves thus abuſed, concerted with three jeſuits, viz. Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos. Theſe caſuiſts declared, that to take away the life of the King was only committing a ſin that they termed venial †.

To underſtand this deciſion more clearly, it is neceſſary we ſhould know that the caſuiſts make a diſtinction between the ſins which lead to hell, and thoſe which conduct us to purgatory for a certain time; between the ſins that the abſolution of a prieſt can forgive, either by the means of prayer or the diſtribution of alms, and thoſe which are pardoned without any ſatisfaction. The firſt are conſidered as *mortal*; the latter, as *venial*.

Auricular confeſſion occaſioned a parricide in Portugal, as it had done in other countries. What was introduced as an expiation of crimes, has been the means

† It is ſo reported in the *Acordao*, or declaration of the Royal Council of Liſbon.

of

of committing them. Such is, as we have often remarked in this Hiſtory, the deplorable condition of humanity!

The conſpirators, furniſhed with their pardon for the other world, waited the King's return to Liſbon from a little country-houſe, alone without domeſtics, and in the night: they fired into his coach, and dangerouſly wounded him *.

All the accomplices, except one domeſtic, were ſeized. Some periſhed by the wheel, and the others were beheaded. The young Counteſs d'Ataïde, whoſe huſband was executed, went, by order of the King, to bewail in a convent thoſe horrible misfortunes which ſhe was thought to be the cauſe of. The Jeſuits alone, who had adviſed and authoriſed this aſſaſſination, by the means of confeſſion (means as dangerous as they are ſacred) at that time eſcaped puniſhment.

Portugal, not having then received that intellectual knowledge which had opened the eyes of ſo many European Kingdoms, was under greater ſubmiſſion to the Pope than any other State. The King was not permitted to condemn to death, by his judges, a monk guilty of a parricide, without the conſent of Rome. Other nations were in the eighteenth century, but the Portugueſe ſeemed to be ſtill in the twelfth.

Poſterity will ſcarcely believe that the King of Portugal ſolicited Rome, for above a year, for permiſſion to try the Jeſuits, though they were his ſubjects, and could not obtain it. The Courts of Liſbon and Rome were for a long time at open variance, and every body flattered themſelves that Portugal would ſhake off a yoke that England, her ally and protectreſs, had ſo long trampled under foot; but the Portugueze Miniſter had too many enemies to dare to undertake what the Court of London had executed: however, his conduct expreſſed both great reſolution and extreme condeſcenſion.

The Jeſuits, who were moſt culpable, were impriſoned in Liſbon, where the King let them remain, and ſent to Rome all the Jeſuits of his dominions. They

* September 3, 1758.

were

were declared for ever baniſhed the kingdom; but yet they dared not to execute thoſe three who were accuſed and convicted of parricide. The King was reduced to the expedient of delivering Malagrida to the Inquiſition, on ſuſpicion of having formerly advanced ſome raſh propoſitions which bordered upon hereſy.

The Dominicans, the Judges of the Holy Office, and aſſiſtants to the Grand Inquiſitor, were never well affected towards the Jeſuits, and paid more obedience to the King of Portugal than they did to Rome. Theſe monks diſcovered a little book of the "heroic life of "St. Ann, mother of Mary, dictated to the reverend "father Malagrida by St. Ann herſelf." She declared to him, that ſhe had experienced the immaculate conception as well as her daughter, that ſhe had ſpoken and cried in her mother's womb, and alſo that ſhe had made the Cherubims weep. All the writings of Malagrida were of a piece with this: beſides, he had made predictions, and performed miracles; and that of experiencing nocturnal pollutions in his priſon, at the age of ſeventy-five, was not one of the leaſt. With all this he was reproached in his proceſs; upon which he was condemned to the flames, without their even mentioning the aſſaſſination of the King, becauſe that was a fault againſt a ſecular only, and the other offences were againſt God §. Thus were the exceſs of ridicule and abſurdity joined to the extremity of horror. The criminal was only brought to his trial as a prophet, and burnt for being a madman only, and not for having been a parricide.

While the Jeſuits were driven from Portugal, this adventure rouſed the hatred that France bore towards them, where they were always powerful and deteſted. It happened that one of their order, named La Valette, chief of the miſſionaries at Martinico, and the greateſt merchant in the Iſlands, became a bankrupt for upwards of three millions. All thoſe who were intereſted, brought their cauſe before the Parliament of Paris. They then diſcovered that the General of the order, reſident at

§ Sept. 21, 1761.

Rome,

Rome, had governed the affairs of the ſociety in a deſpotic manner; and the Parliament decreed that the Preſident and the whole ſociety of Jeſuits ſhould anſwer for the bankruptcy of La Valette.

This proceſs, which excited the hatred of France againſt the Jeſuits, led them to examine into this ſingular inſtitution, which rendered an Italian General abſolute maſter over the perſons and fortunes of a French ſociety. They were ſurpriſed to find, that the order of Jeſuits was never formally received in France by the major part of the French Parliaments. They examined their conſtitutions, and all the Parliaments found them incompatible with the laws. They then recollected all the ancient complaints which were made againſt this order, and upwards of fifty volumes of their theological deciſions affecting the ſafety of the lives of Kings.

The Jeſuits defended themſelves only by ſaying, "That the Jacobins and St. Thomas had written as "much;" by which they only proved that the Jacobins were as reprehenſible as themſelves. With reſpect to Thomas d'Aquinas, he is canonized; but in his *ultramontane ſummary* there are deciſions that the Parliaments of France would burn upon his feaſt-day, if they were made uſe of to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. As he in many places declares, that the Church has a right to depoſe a Prince who is an infidel to it, ſo in this caſe he gives ſanction to parricide. By ſuch maxims as theſe one may gain paradiſe and the gallows!

The King condeſcended to intermeddle in the affair of the Jeſuits, and endeavoured to pacify this quarrel, as he had done others. He was deſirous of reforming in a parental manner the French Jeſuits; but it is ſaid, that Pope Clement XIII. declared, that they muſt either continue as they were, or not exiſt at all; and this anſwer from the Pope was their ruin. They were again charged with carrying on ſecret aſſemblies. The King then abandoned them to his Parliaments, who all, one after another, deprived them of their Colleges and their eſtates.

The Parliaments condemned them upon ſome rules only of their inſtitution, which the King might have altered;

altered; upon horrible maxims, it is true, but ſuch as were deſpiſed, and for the moſt part publiſhed by foreign Jeſuits, and lately formally diſavowed by the French Jeſuits.

In all important affairs, there is an avowed pretext and a concealed reaſon. The pretext for the puniſhment of the Jeſuits was the pretended dangers which might ariſe from their pernicious books, which nobody read: the true cauſe was, the credit which they had ſo long abuſed. In this enlightened and moderate age, it happened to them as it befel the Templars in a time of ignorance and barbariſm: pride ruined them both; but the Jeſuits were treated in their diſgrace with mildneſs, and the Templars with cruelty. At laſt, the King, by a ſolemn edict in 1764, totally aboliſhed this order, which always had perſons worthy of eſteem belonging to it, but more incendiaries; and which was, during the ſpace of two hundred years, a ſubject of diſcord.

It was neither Sanchez, Leſſius, nor Eſcobar, nor the abſurdity of caſuiſts, which ruined the Jeſuits; it was Le Tellier*; it was the bull that was the reaſon of their extirpation throughout almoſt all France. The plough that the Jeſuit Le Tellier paſſed over the ruins of Port-Royal, has produced, at the end of ſixty years, thoſe fruits which they now reap. The perſecutions that this violent and crafty man had excited againſt an obſtinate people, rendered the Jeſuits execrable in France. A memorable example, but which will not correct the Confeſſor of any monarch who is (what almoſt all courtiers are) ambitious and intriguing, and who directs the conſcience of a prince but ill informed, and weakened by old age.

The order of Jeſuits was afterwards driven from all the dominions of the King of Spain in Europe, Aſia, and America; from the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Malta; an evident proof that they were not ſuch great politicians as was generally imagined. The monks were never powerful but by the blindneſs of mankind; and in this age their eyes begin to be opened. What there was worthy

* Confeſſor to Louis XIV. in his decline.

of

of remark in their almoſt univerſal overthrow was, that in Portugal they were baniſhed for having degenerated from their inſtitution, and in France for having been too conformable to it *. The reaſon is, that the Portugueze did not dare to examine into an inſtitution conſecrated by the Popes, and the French ſtood not in ſo much awe of their authority. † The reſult on the whole is, that a religious order that could excite the hatred of ſo many nations, muſt certainly have deſerved it.

This order was exterminated throughout all the countries which had been the theatres of its power; in Spain, the Philippine Iſles, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Portugal, Brazil, France, the Two Sicilies, the Dutchy of Parma, and in Malta; but it preſerved itſelf, at leaſt for ſome time, in Hungary, in Poland, in one-third of Germany, in Flanders, and even in Venice, where it, however, was in no eſteem, and from whence it had been formerly baniſhed.

It appears but reaſonable and juſt, that the Sovereigns who are diſſatisfied with any religious order, ſhould rid themſelves of it; and that thoſe Powers which approve of it, ſhould cheriſh it in their ſtates.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Bull of Pope Rezzonico, Clement XIII. and of its Conſequences.

THE Infant-Duke of Parma, Don Ferdinand of Bourbon, having followed the example of all the Princes of his family in baniſhing the Jeſuits, made in

* Stay, till we have paſſed the next ſentence. *Tranſlator.*

† Are we any thing the wiſer now? The order of Jeſuits were equally baniſhed from France and Spain, as a Community dangerous to the State. The political difference is by no means apparent. M. Voltaire affects the ſtile of Tacitus, which is conciſeneſs; but wanting his genius, the ſentence in Horace may be applied to him,

——— *Brevis eſſe laboro,*
Obſcurus fio. Idem.

his

his eſtates ſeveral regulations which reformed the monaſtic abuſes; and his Miniſter, who was much eſteemed in Europe, had moreover the prudence to oppoſe the pretenſions of the Court of Rome, which claimed a right to judge all the contentious diſputes in Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, and to confer all their benefices.

Theſe pretenſions were derived, in the firſt place, from St. Peter, who, they ſay, was Biſhop of Rome. Secondly, from the Counteſs Matilda, who had endowed Pope Gregory VII. with Parma, Placentia, and other great domains. But it has never been proved that St. Peter had ever been at Rome; and it is certain that he never conferred any benefice in Parma, Placentia, or Guaſtalla, and that he never judged any proceſs in theſe territories.

As to the Counteſs Matilda, ſiſter of the Emperor Henry III. and aunt to the Emperor Henry IV. whom the Popes had rendered ſo unhappy, this donation has ever been conſidered as null by all the Imperial Civilians, it not being permitted to diſpoſe of any fief of the Empire without the conſent of the Lord Paramount.

They were ſo much perſuaded, even in the time of Charles V. of the invalidity of the pontifical claims, that this Emperor took poſſeſſion of Placentia when the Baſtard of Pope Paul III. to whom his father had given that city, was there aſſaſſinated on account of his vices and his violences. Charles V. retained Placentia till his death.

The Emperors have ever ſince claimed the dependence of Parma and Placentia, and at length it was ſolemnly accorded to them at the Congreſs of Cambray, and alſo at that of Soiſſons.

When it was made known to Pope Clement XIII. that the Duke of Parma, Don Ferdinand, was reſolved to reign like other Sovereigns, he aſſembled a Council of Cardinals, who never in the leaſt heſitated to pronounce the wiſe adminiſtration of the Duke of Parma and his Miniſters to be a ſacrilege. The Pope ſigned in St. Mary Major, the 30th of January 1768, a pontifical brief, which he began by declaring, that Parma and Placentia belonged to him in *Ducatu noſtro*, and

that the Duke of Parma and Placentia being a layman, and not a prieſt, every act of his Council was illegal. He excommunicated all thoſe who had any hand in the edicts of the Duke of Parma, without exception; and forbad the adminiſtering of abſolution to them in any caſe whatſoever.—This decree, ſealed with the ring of the Fiſherman, was poſted up on the churches of St. John de Lateran, of St. Peter, and in the field of Flora.

Such a brief appears to belong rather to the twelfth century than to the preſent age. The Pope and Cardinals who involved themſelves in this net, ſeem not to have been aware how much men's minds were enlightened in Europe. The abſurdity of the Court of Rome was in judging of the preſent by the paſt. There were times when a Prieſt could dethrone a Prince by the means of prejudices; and there are others, when he would be obliged to diſguiſe his weakneſs by his condeſcenſion. Never was Pope guilty of ſo groſs an error. He inſulted in the perſon of the Duke of Parma, the King of Spain Don Carlos his uncle, Louis XV. his grandfather and chief of the Houſe of Bourbon, and the King of the Two Sicilies his couſin-german.

The Popes had never excommunicated any ſovereign ſince the year 1630, and it happened to be a Duke of Parma, anceſtor by the mother's ſide of the preſent Duke. This was only concerning ſome money-matter. The Pope had ſeized upon the Dutchies of Caſtro and of Ronciglione, belonging to Odoard Farneſe, Duke of Parma.

In 1588, a more important anceſtor of this Prince, the great Henry IV. King of France, was excommunicated by Sixtus Quintus. This paſtor of the Marche of Ancona became Pope, and had the audacity to call him "a baſtard, and deteſtable branch of the Houſe "of Bourbon."

Such for a long time was the ſuperſtitious frenzy and inſolence of the Court of Rome, that a Prieſt of that country pronounced, on the part of God, the deſcendant of ſo many Kings incapable of inheriting not only the kingdom of St. Louis, but even a ſingle acre of land.

This

This exceſs of abſurd inſolence was not puniſhed as it ought to have been. The religious diſputes and the ambitious politics of Philip II. then ſupported the pride of the Vatican; but the time is come, at length, when what was formerly forced to be tolerated is now repreſſed, and when the feeble is chaſtiſed for the ancient violences of the ſtrong, which ſubſiſt no longer.

Clement XIII. was ſoon puniſhed for his great ignorance in the affairs of the world. The Parliament of Paris began with condemning his brief of excommunication; but the Royal Council made uſe of arms more effectual, by iſſuing an order for taking poſſeſſion of Avignon, and of all the County of Venaiſſin *. The conceſſions made formerly by the Kings of France of this Earldom to the ſee of Rome, are enveloped in that cloud of uncertainty in which great part of hiſtory is involved. Beſides, the alienation of any domain of the Crown has always been reputed contrary to the laws of the kingdom by all Parliaments, and particularly by that of Provence, within which precinct Avignon and the Earldom are included.

Louis XIV. had twice taken poſſeſſion of this domain, once in the papacy of Alexander VII. and the other time in order to mortify Innocent XI. who had declared againſt him; and having ſeized theſe territories as lands belonging to the Crown, he had reſtored them twice, without making the leaſt declaration that might prejudice his right of re-aſſumption.

It ſhould be obſerved, that when the Kings of France repoſſeſs themſelves of the Earldom, 'tis in virtue of a Decree of the Parliament of Provence. The Miniſter of France thinks proper to eſtabliſh the laſt Decree of this Parliament, which in 1688 had reunited Avignon and the Earldom to the Crown. This decree had never been ſpecially revoked; ſo that it was put into execution, as ſubſiſting in its full force.

* A Territory of France, near Avignon, depending on the Pope.

The Count of Rochechouart appeared on the part of the King before Avignon *, attended by a few troops. He went directly to the Vice-Legate, who governed there in the name of the Pope, and ſaid to him, according to the ancient precedent uſed under Louis XIV. "Mr. "Abbé, the King has commanded me to replace Avig- "non in his poſſeſſion, and you are requeſted to "retire."

The Firſt Preſident of Aix, a Second Preſident, and eight Counſellors, proclaimed the arret of re-union.—At the ſame time all the bells were ſet a-ringing, the populace lighted up bonfires, and they commenced from that day to inſert in their public acts, "In the "reign of our ſovereign Prince Louis, by the grace of "God, XV. of the name, King of France and Navarre, "Earl of Provence, of the Town of Avignon, and of "the Earldom of Venaiſſin."

The King of Naples, on his part, revenged his Houſe and all the Catholic Sovereigns by ſeizing the town of Benevento, with that of Ponto-Corvo; and by declaring, "that theſe two towns and their territory were depen- "dent on the Crown of Naples, and that they were now "reunited for ever."

They threatened likewiſe to ſeize upon Caſtro and Ronciglione, but they proceeded no farther than threats; and even when the Court of Naples took poſ- ſeſſion of Benevento, which had belonged to the Popes about ſeven hundred and thirty years, it paid the tribute of vaſſalage, which amounted to ſeven thouſand crowns, ſuſpended from the neck of a pacing poney †.—They had not courage enough to emancipate them- ſelves from this ſervitude. Men rarely do all that they may.—This tribute was ſtill more ancient, by ten years, than the rights of the Popes over Benevento. This ho- mage, which is paid no where elſe, and which could only have been a ſimple ceremony of piety, was not a

* June 11, 1768.

† Is the Calumet, or the String of Wampum of the wild Indians more ri iculous than this? *Tranſlator.*

real

real feudal dependence. It took its riſe from prejudice, and might eaſily have been aboliſhed by reaſon. The Miniſter of the King of Naples, the Marquis Taulucci, a man the beſt inſtructed in this kind of difficult juriſprudence, did not think that the times were ſufficiently ripe for caſting off a yoke, which, tho' a ſcandal to crowned heads, was however impoſed by religion.

If they did not yet deſpoil the Popes of all the rights they had uſurped, they at leaſt ſapped the foundations of the edifice upon which all thoſe rights are ſupported; they every where proſcribed the famous bull *in Cœnâ Domini*, which they had fulminated every year at Rome, without diſcontinuance, ever ſince Paul III. A Cardinal Deacon reads it at the porch of St. Peter's on the day they call Holy Thurſday, and the Pope throws a lighted flambeau into the public ſquare to notify to all Chriſtian people, that God will thus burn in hell whoever ſhall violate the laws enacted by the bull *in Cœnâ Domini*.

It is in this bull, article 14, that are excommunicated, by a major excommunication, "The Chancellors, Coun-"ſellors, ordinary and extraordinary, of all Kings and "Princes whatſoever, the Preſidents of the Chanceries, "Councils, Parliaments, as alſo the Procurators-General, "who pretend to ſit in judgment upon eccleſiaſtical "cauſes, or who obſtruct the execution of the Apoſtolic "ordinances, even when the preventing ſome violence "may be the pretence."

By the ſame article the Pope reſerves to himſelf alone "the power of abſolving the aforeſaid Chancel-"lors, Counſellors, Procurators-General, and other ex-"communicated perſons, none of whom, however, can "be abſolved 'till after they have publickly revoked "their ſentences, and have cancelled them out of their "regiſters *.

This bull had been before fulminated by the violent Julius II. but it had never been made a law to publiſh it every year. It was Paul III. who inſtituted this uſage,

* The reader muſt be more ingenious than the Tranſlator, if he can invent words ſufficient to expreſs his abhorrence of the ſtupid blaſphemy and infernal inſolence of this whole paſſage. *Tranſlator.*

and who had it printed in the Bullary *, with aggravated additions. It is ſtrange that Charles V. who had ſacked Rome and detained a Pope in priſon, ſhould yet ſuffer an abſurd ceremony to ſubſiſt, which, though in reality deſpiſed, was nevertheleſs injurious to the majeſty of the Empire, and of all the Kings.

The inſult offered to the Infant-Duke of Parma, awaked all Catholic Europe out of a ſlumber of two hundred years ſtanding. The Auſtrian Miniſtry, after the example of the Parliament of Paris, condemned and ſuppreſſed the bull in all its Eſtates. The Miniſter of Naples did the ſame. All the Councils of the Princes began to open their eyes. In fine, after having baniſhed the Jeſuits from ſo many States, it was every where ſeen of what importance it was to diminiſh the prodigious multitude of monks, who are in all Catholic countries the ſoldiers of the Pope, paid at the expence of the people. The wiſe Republic of Venice more eſpecially ſignalized itſelf by laws which curbed the number of monks, and their rapaciouſneſs.

This was what Pope Rezzonico drew upon the Court of Rome by having liſtened to bad counſels, and by not having properly conſidered that we are in the eighteenth century. This Pope, more virtuous than enlightened, died ſoon after: his death was attributed to chagrin, though that is rarely the malady of old age.

The Miniſter, as he is ſtiled in France, for foreign affairs, and whom they named under Louis XIV. the Miniſter of the Strangers †, being ſeconded by Cardinal Bernis, had the intereſt at Rome to get a Pope nominated from whom was expected more circumſpection. Cardinal Bernis to the artifice upon which the Italians pique themſelves had joined a literary erudition, with a taſte and a genius which the Sacred College no longer piques itſelf upon, and that was rarely poſſeſſed but by the late Cardinal Paſſionei. It was he

* The Regiſtry of the Pope's Bulls.

† A ſtrange title, indeed! Why change the firſt, which had ſome meaning in it? *Tranſlator.*

who

who made Pope Clement XIV. and who formed his Council.

This Pope, who had been a Franciſcan, was reputed a man of good underſtanding, and capable of ſuſtaining by his wiſdom the Coloſſus of the Pontificate, which ſeemed to be nodding to its fall.

CHAP. XL.

Of Corſica.

THESE little bickerings with the Court of Rome coſt nothing but ink and paper; but it required gold and blood to ſubdue the Iſland of Corſica to the yoke of France.

It will be neceſſary to give ſome idea of this Iſle. It certainly muſt be that the ſoil of it cannot be ſo barren, nor the poſſeſſion of it of ſo little conſequence, as has been generally ſaid, when all its neighbouring Princes have always ſought its dominion.

The Carthaginians had made themſelves maſters of it before their wars with the Romans. Cornelius Scipio made a conqueſt of it in the firſt Punic war, and the Romans continued its maſters for a long time, and built ſeveral towns there. The Goths took it from the Romans, and the Arabs conquered it afterwards from the Goths.

Some Lords of New Rome drove the Saracens out of it, in the time of Pope Paſcal II. The Popes began from thence to pretend that it was their prerogative alone to confer Kingdoms, in quality of Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, "whoſe Kingdom, however, was not of this world *." It is generally thought that Gregory VII. was the firſt who eſtabliſhed the vain notion of a ſacred

* No; earthly Kingdoms were under the dominion of the Devil, rather, for he offered them all to our Saviour. *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. ſo that by this claim the Popes appear to be only Vicars of the Devil.—So much for Antichriſt. *Tranſlator.*

and univerſal monarchy, not recollecting that Eginhard himſelf, the Secretary of Charlemagne, ſaid that Pope Stephen had depoſed the King of the Francs Chilperic, and given the Kingdom of the Francs to the Mayor of the Palace, Pepin, father to Charlemagne. Paſcal II. alſo beſtowed Corſica on one of the conquerors of thoſe times named Bianco, and reſerved the homage to himſelf. The Iſland remained peopled with antient Romans, antient Carthaginians, the Arabs, and its original inhabitants. The Piſans and the Genoeſe diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of it. Pope Urban II. granted it to the Piſans by a bull, the original of which remains, 'tis ſaid, ſtill at Florence. The Genoeſe, notwithſtanding the bull, eſtabliſhed themſelves in a part of the Iſland in the twelfth century.

An Alphonſo, King of Arragon, drove the Genoeſe out of it for ſome time, who in their turn drove him from it in 1354. The Corſicans then, of their own accord, ſubmitted themſelves as ſubjects of Genoa, becauſe they were poor, and the others rich.

In the courſe of all theſe revolutions, the towns built by the antient Romans fell to ruin, and the people were ſunk into barbariſm and wretchedneſs. This is the portrait of all the Chriſtian nations ſince the invaſion of the Barbarians, except Conſtantinople and the towns of Italy, as Rome, Venice, Florence, Milan, and a very few others, which preſerved the policy and the arts that were baniſhed from every place elſe.

It was rather to be expected that the Corſicans would have conquered Piſa and Genoa, than that the Piſans and Genoeſe ſhould have conquered the Corſicans; for theſe Iſlanders were more robuſt, and braver too than their conquerors: they had nothing to loſe; a Republic of poor and fierce warriors might eaſily have overcome the merchants of Liguria, from the ſame reaſon that the Huns, the Goths, the Heruli, and the Vandals, who were maſters of nothing but iron, had ſubdued the nations who were poſſeſſed of gold. But the Corſicans having been always diſunited, undiſciplined, and divided

into

into factions which were mortal enemies to each other, were ever ſubjugated through their own fault.

It was a mean condition for the people of a country which bore the title of a Kingdom to become the ſubjects of a Republic, which did not know itſelf whether it was free or not; for not only the Archives of the Empire have always enrolled Genoa as one of its fiefs, but when Genoa delivered itſelf up to the King of France, Charles VI.; when, having maſſacred the French, ſhe beſtowed herſelf in 1409 to a ſimple Marquis of Montferrat, and afterwards to a Duke of Milan; when ſhe ſubmitted to Charles VII. and to Charles VIII.; when ſhe was among the number of the ſubjects of Louis XII. and even of ſubjects puniſhed for diſobedience; it was certain that the Corſicans were the ſubjects of ſubjects not leſs humiliated than themſelves, which, after the condition of abſolute ſlavery, is the moſt abject ſtate that can be well imagined.

When the Genoeſe were really free in 1553, thanks to the ill conduct of Francis I. and to the gallant ſpirit of Francis Doria, a man who in modern Europe has the moſt illuſtrated the name of Citizen! the Corſicans were then more ſlaves than ever; the weight of their chains became inſupportable, and their ſufferings rouſed their courage. The family of the Ornanos, which has ſince taken ſhelter and made a figure in France, attempted to do in Corſica what the Dorias had done in Genoa, reſtore liberty to their country; and this family of the Ornanos were worthy of ſo noble an undertaking. It did not, however, ſucceed; the greateſt courage and the beſt meaſures muſt be ſeconded by fortune. The King of France, Henry II. who aſſiſted the Corſicans at that time, in order to become their maſter perhaps, was killed in a tournament.

The Ornanos having now no longer the dangerous ſupport of France, ſolicited a ſtill more dangerous one, that of the Turks. But the Porte ſcorned to interfere in the quarrels of two inſignificant nations fighting for a parcel of rocks on the coaſt of Italy. The Corſicans remained under the dominion of the Genoeſe;

and

and the more theſe Iſlanders attempted to ſhake off the yoke, the heavier it was rendered by Genoa.

The Corſicans were a long time governed by a law which reſembled the law *Veimique*, or Weſtphalian, of Charlemagne; a law by which the Judge Delegate of the Iſle condemned to death or the gallies upon a private information, without trying the accuſed, or even inſerting the leaſt manner of formality in his judgment. The ſentence was entered in theſe terms in a private record: "Being informed in my conſcience that ſuch "and ſuch are guilty, I condemn them to death." There was no more formality in the execution than in the ſentence.

It is inconceivable that Charlemagne ſhould have eſtabliſhed ſuch a proceſs, which ſubſiſted five hundred years in Weſtphalia, and was afterwards imitated in Corſica. Theſe Iſlanders were continually aſſaſſinating one another, and their Judges had the ſurvivors aſſaſſinated in their turn, upon the information of their conſciences. This, on both ſides, was the utmoſt degree of barbariſm. The Corſicans required civilization, and they cruſhed them; they were to be mollified, and they were rendered more intractable.

A ſavage and indomitable enmity was rooted between them and their maſters, and became a ſecond nature. There were twelve inſurrections, which the Corſicans called efforts for liberty, and the Genoeſe termed crimes of high treaſon. Since the year 1725 there had been nothing but ſeditions, puniſhments, inſurrections, depredations, and maſſacres of Corſican citizens aſſaſſinated by their fellow-citizens.

Can it be credited, that in a petition ſent to the King of France by the chief Corſicans in 1738, it ſhould be affirmed, that there had been twenty-ſix thouſand aſſaſſinations during the government of the ſixteen laſt Genoeſe Deputies, and ſeventeen hundred within the laſt two years? The petitioners added, that the Deputies of Genoa connived at theſe crimes, in order to enrich themſelves by fines and confiſcations.

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This accuſation ſeems to be exaggerated; but the reſult is, that the adminiſtration was bad, and the people ſtill worſe. Corſica coſt the Senate of Genoa much more treaſure and embarraſſment than it was worth; and it might well be ſaid of that people what Louis XI. ſaid of Genoa itſelf, when ſhe offered herſelf to him, "I'll make a preſent of her to the Devil."

From the year 1729 it was open war, as between two rival and irreconcileable nations. Genoa implored the ſuccour of the Emperor Charles VI. in quality of a Lord Paramount who ought to protect his vaſſals. To this reaſon ſhe added a certain ſum, and the Emperor ſupplied her with troops. A Prince of the Houſe of Wirtemberg, a brave officer and a man of liberality, obliged the Corſicans to lay down their arms, and negociated an accommodation between them and the Genoeſe in 1732; but it was only a truce ſoon broken by the animoſity of both parties.

The Corſicans began to have ſome very intelligent Chiefs, ſuch as always ariſe in the courſe of civil wars; a Giafferi, a Jacintho Paoli, a Rivalora, and above all a Canon named Orticoni, who for ſome time poſſeſſed the principal influence. But theſe Chiefs were not able to eſtabliſh a regular government in the place of that tumultuous anarchy which deſolated and depopulated this Iſland.

The Corſicans, among whom aſſaſſination was at that time more common than it had been on the continent of Italy even in the fifteenth century, were alſo full as devout as the reſt of the Italians, and many prieſts among them aſſaſſinated while they were mumbling over their beads. The Chiefs in 1735 convoked a general aſſembly, in which Council they dedicated Corſica to the Virgin Mary, who did not ſeem inclined to accept of this Sovereignty. They burned the Genoeſe laws, and proclaimed the penalty of death againſt whoever ſhould propoſe the entering into any treaty with Genoa. Jacintho Paoli and Giafferi were declared Generals.

The Corſicans had ſcarcely placed themſelves under the tutelage of the Virgin, when an adventurer of Lower

Germany came to make himſelf King of Corſica without ever conſulting her. He was a poor Baron of Weſtphalia, named Theodore de Neuhoff, brother to a lady who had an eſtabliſhment in France at the Court of the Ducheſs of Orleans.

This perſon having travelled into Spain, and having there made ſome acquaintance with an Envoy from Tunis, paſſed over into Africa, and perſuaded the Bey that he could put him in poſſeſſion of Corſica, if the Bey would only ſupply him with a ſloop of war mounting ſix cannon, four thouſand muſkets, a thouſand ſequins, and ſome proviſions.

The Regency of Tunis were weak enough to provide him with what he aſked. He arrived at Leghorn in a ſhip which hoiſted falſe Engliſh colours, ſold the veſſel, and wrote from thence to the Chiefs of the Corſicans, that if they would elect him for their King, he would engage to drive the Genoeſe out of the Iſland with the ſuccours of the principal Powers of Europe which he had ſecured.

There muſt certainly be times when the heads of moſt men become giddy. His propoſition was accepted. The Baron Theodore landed the 15th of March, 1736, at the port of Aleria, clothed like a Turk, and his head covered with a turban. He began by proclaiming that he had arrived with immenſe treaſures, and by way of proof diſtributed among the people fifty ſequins in braſs coin. The muſkets and the powder which he diſtributed were certificates of his power. He gave the natives ſhoes made of good leather; a magnificence unknown in Corſica. He bribed couriers who uſed to come to him from Leghorn in packet-boats, and bring him forged diſpatches from ſeveral Powers of Europe and Africa. He paſſed among that people for one of the greateſt Princes of the earth: he was elected King, cauſed braſs money to be coined in his name, had a Court eſtabliſhed, and Secretaries of State appointed him. And what raiſed his reputation and power ſtill more was, that the Senate of Genoa had ſet a price upon his head. But in about eight months the principal

Corſicans

Corſicans having found out who he was, and the ſmall ſum he was maſter of being exhauſted, he departed, as he pretended, to go in queſt of more effectual ſuccours.

Being a fugitive in Amſterdam, one of his creditors had him arreſted; but this diſgrace did not diſcourage him; he made new dupes, even in gaol. He reſembled in this particular a Marquis d'Ammi de Conventiglio, who about the ſame time viſited all the Courts, making gold for the Princes and Nobles who had occaſion for it, and was himſelf thrown into priſon in all the capitals of Europe.

In the mean time, the Genoeſe ſolicited in 1737 the good offices of France. Cardinal Fleury, who had pacified the troubles of Geneva, undertook alſo to be the arbitrator of the peace between Genoa and Corſica. He diſpatched Count de Boiſſieux, nephew to Marſhal Villars, with ſome troops and articles of accommodation. It was at this criſis that the malcontents ſent to the King the ſupplication I have before mentioned, in which they complained of the ſeventeen hundred aſſaſſinations that had been perpetrated in their Iſland within the laſt two years; which, however, was no ſort of apology on their ſide of the queſtion.

This petition was further ſeconded by a natural wild ſort of eloquence ſuperior to all the arts of oratory, and by ſentiments of liberty, ſo little known in Courts. "If your ſovereign commands," ſaid they, "ſhould "oblige us to ſubmit ourſelves to Genoa, let us firſt "drink the health of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and then "die."

A plan was drawn up at Verſailles, in the name of the Emperor and of the King of France, which was ſigned by the Miniſter of the King, and by Prince Lichtenſtein, Ambaſſador from the Emperor. The articles of it appeared to be equitable. They utterly aboliſhed the right that the Judges Delegates had aſſumed to themſelves of condemning to the gallows or the gallies, on the ſole teſtimony of their own conſciences; but at the ſame time they framed an article to diſarm all the inhabitants

habitants of Corſica. They would by no means ſubmit to be diſarmed, and reſolved to die rather than drink "to "the health of the Moſt Chriſtian King."

King Theodore ſtill promiſed them from his priſon in Amſterdam, that he would go and deliver them ſhortly from the yoke of Genoa and the arbitration of France. In fine, he had the art to impoſe upon the Jews and foreign merchants ſettled at Amſterdam, as he had before deceived both Tunis and Corſica; he prevailed on them not only to diſcharge his debt, but alſo to freight a veſſel with arms, powder, ammunition, and proviſions, with a conſiderable cargo of merchandiſe; perſuading them that they ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the excluſive commerce of the whole Iſland, which he repreſented to be a trade of immenſe profit.

Their avarice made dupes of them; but Theodore was as great a fool as they were: he imagined to himſelf, that on landing in Corſica with arms, and appearing to have brought money with him, the whole Iſland would immediately reſort to his ſtandard, in ſpite of both French and Genoeſe. He was not ſuffered to diſembark; he took ſhelter in Leghorn, and his Dutch creditors were ruined.

He fled ſoon after to England, and was thrown into gaol in London for his debts, as he had been impriſoned before at Amſterdam. There he remained till the beginning of the year 1756, when Mr. Walpole had the generoſity to ſet a ſubſcription on foot for his relief, by the means of which he compounded with his creditors, and releaſed this mock Monarch from a gaol, who died miſerably on the 2d of December in the ſame year. It was engraven on his tombſtone, "That fortune had given "him a Kingdom, and refuſed him bread *."

* Mr. Voltaire has told this part of the ſtory imperfectly. When this ſingular man was in priſon here, *de profundis clamavit*; but only Mr. Walpole heard him. He knew him not; but his benevolence being moved with the extraordinary circumſtances of ſo extraordinary a character, he publiſhed a paper, No. 8 in *The World* (a popular work then carrying on after the manner of *The Spectator*) in which, with a great deal of wit, humour, and compaſſion, he recommended

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In the interval while Theodore was making his ſecond attempt of reigning in Corſica, and when he had tried in vain to land in the Iſland, the Iſlanders made it ſufficiently appear that they needed not his aſſiſtance to defend themſelves. They had promiſed Boiſſieux to carry him their arms: they carried them indeed the 12th of December 1738, but it was to ſurpriſe a poſt of four hundred French, who were not able to reſiſt them. Boiſſieux came to their aſſiſtance; he was repulſed, and driven back with muſkets at their breaſts even into Baſtia. The Corſicans called this day the Corſican Veſpers; tho' it was but a feeble imitation of the Sicilian Veſpers.

Soon after a fleet was equipped, on board which ſome new battalions were embarked, which Cardinal Fleury ſent out in order to pacify the Corſicans by the means of arms. This fleet was diſperſed by a horrible tem-

the Monarch's ſituation to the conſideration and munificence of the public, and at the ſame time directed a ſubſcription to be opened for his relief at Mr. Dodſley's, bookſeller, in Pall-Mall.

When wit and genius are employed in the offices of humanity, the inſpiration muſt come from above. The collection amounted only to fifty pounds. What portion of that ſum the generous promoter of it himſelf ſupplied, is not known. The regiſtry of charitable deeds is not kept on earth.

This pittance was by no means ſufficient to purchaſe any compoſition with his creditors, as M. Voltaire aſſerts, but only ſerved to ſupport him in his confinement till he was releaſed by a general Act of Inſolvency, ſoon after paſſed.

As ſoon as he was ſet at liberty, he ſent to Mr. Dodſley to require him to open his ſubſcription anew; which the latter declined, becauſe he did not apprehend it would produce any further effect: upon this, his Majeſty threatened to proſecute him for having dared to debaſe his royal name, by employing it in ſo mean a buſineſs without his authority, and died the day after.

Mr. Walpole buried, and beſtowed an inſcription on him in St. Anne's, Soho. "If they aſk for bread, will they give them a ſtone!" Mr. Walpole ſupplied both, and made the latter *a living one*, by the following epitaph:

"The Grave, great teacher, to a level brings
"Heroes and beggars, galley-ſlaves and Kings.
"But Theodore this leſſon learnt ere dead;
"Fate pour'd its lecture on his living head,
"Beſtowed a Kingdom, and denied him bread." *Tranſlator.*

peſt;

peſt; two of the veſſels were wrecked upon the coaſt; four hundred ſoldiers with their officers fell into the hands of thoſe they came to conquer, and were ſtripped quite naked. The mortification that Boiffieux was ſenſible of from ſo many diſgraces, haſtened that death with which his weakly conſtitution had threatened him a long time before. There ſcarcely ever was a more unfortunate expedition.

At length, the Marquis of Maillebois, an officer of great reputation, and who was ſoon after made a Marſhal of France, was ſent thither. This perſon, accuſtomed to prompt expeditions, conquered the Corſicans in three weeks, in the year 1739.

He began now to eſtabliſh in the Iſland a ſort of police which had not been known there before, when the fatal war of 1740 deſolated the half of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, who engaged in it againſt his will, and whoſe character it was to conduct great enterprizes by little ways, introduced his uſual œconomy into this important war. He withdrew all the forces from Corſica. Genoa, ſo far from being able to keep the Iſland in ſubjection, was herſelf overpowered by the Auſtrians, reduced to a condition of ſlavery, and was more unhappy than Corſica, becauſe ſhe fell from a greater height.

While Europe was deſolated on account of the ſucceſſion of the Eſtates of the Houſe of Auſtria, and for ſo many different intereſts which were relative to the principal concern, the Corſicans ſtrengthened themſelves in the love of liberty and their hatred to their former maſters. Genoa always kept poſſeſſion of Baſtia, the capital of the Iſland, and a few other places; the Corſicans held all the reſt. They enjoyed their liberty, or rather their licentiouſneſs, under the command of Giafferi, elected their General; a perſon famous for an intrepid valour, and alſo for the virtues of a good citizen. He was aſſaſſinated in 1753. The Senate of Genoa was accuſed of this act, who probably had no ſhare in the murder.

Diſcord

Diſcord now divided the Corſicans. The enmities between the families terminated ever in aſſaſſinations; but they ſtill reunited againſt the Genoeſe, their private animoſities giving way to the general enmity. The Corſicans needed more than ever ſome Chief who might be capable of directing their fury, and of rendering it ſerviceable to the public good.

The old Jacintho Paoli, who had commanded them formerly, and who was then retired to Naples, ſent them his ſon Paſchal Paoli in 1755. As ſoon as he arrived, he was acknowledged for Commandant-General of the whole Iſland, though he was only twenty-nine years of age. He did not pretend to the title of King, like Theodore, but he was ſo in effect in many particulars, as placing himſelf at the head of a Democratic Government.

Whatever has been ſaid of him, it is not poſſible but that this Chief muſt have poſſeſſed great qualities. To eſtabliſh a regular Government over a Nation that was averſe to it; to combine under the ſame laws a divided and undiſciplined people; to form at once regular troops, and inſtitute a kind of Univerſity which was capable of ſoftening their manners; to eſtabliſh tribunals of juſtice, to reſtrain the fury of aſſaſſination and murder, to civilize barbariſm, to render himſelf beloved, while he exacted obedience; all this was aſſuredly a ſufficient proof of no common man. He was not able to bring either of theſe two points to bear, to render the nation free, or himſelf abſolute; but he did enough to acquire renown.

Two Powers very different from each other engaged in the conteſt between Genoa and Corſica. The one was the Court of Rome, and the other that of France. The Popes had formerly pretended to the ſovereignty of that Iſland, and they are not apt to forget at Rome. The Corſican Biſhops having taken part with the Genoeſe Senate, and three of the Biſhops having quitted their country, the Pope ſent there a Viſitor-General, which much alarmed the Senate of Genoa. Some of the Senators were afraid leſt Rome ſhould take advantage of

theſe troubles to revive her ancient pretenſions to a country which Genoa could no longer preſerve; but this apprehenſion was as vain as the efforts of Genoa to ſubjugate Corſica.

The Pope who ſent this Viſitor was the ſame Rezzonico who ſince exclaimed ſo indiſcreetly againſt the Duke of Parma. He was not a man to conquer kingdoms. The Senate of Genoa ordered that the Viſitor ſhould not be ſuffered to land in Corſica. He arrived there, notwithſtanding, in the ſpring of 1760. General Paoli addreſſed himſelf to him, to try to gain him over as a Protector. He ordered the decree of the Senate to be burned under the gallows; but he remained ſtill the maſter. The Viſitor could only give his benedictions, and make eccleſiaſtical regulations for the prieſts, who poſſeſſed nothing but the name, and who ſometimes uſed to go from maſs and aſſaſſinate their brethren.

The Miniſtry of France, more active and more powerful than that of Rome, were ſolicited again to aſſiſt Genoa with its good offices. At length the Court of France ſent ſeven battalions to Corſica in the year 1764, but not to act offenſively. Theſe troops were only charged to guard the places which the Genoeſe were yet in poſſeſſion of. They came only as mediators. It was ſaid that they ſhould remain there, and in part at the expence of the Senate, for their proviſions.

The Senate hoped that France having taken upon her the charge of garriſoning their forts, it might be able with its own forces to regain the reſt of the Iſland. But it was miſtaken. Paoli had both diſciplined his troops, and redoubled in the people the love of liberty. He had a brother who had the character of a brave ſoldier, and who often diſcomfited the mercenaries of Genoa. This Republic loſt in the ſpace of four years its troops and its money, while Paoli augmented daily both his forces and his reputation. Europe regarded him as the legiſlator and the avenger of his country.

The four years ſtation of the French in Corſica being expired, the Senate of Genoa began to find that it had

waſted

waſted itſelf in vain in a ruinous enterprize, and that it was impracticable to ſubdue the Corſicans.

It then ſurrendered all its rights in Corſica to the Crown of France, and the treaty was ſigned in the month of July, at Compeigne. By this treaty the Kingdom of Corſica was not abſolutely transferred over to the King of France, but only mortgaged to him, with a reſervation of the equity of redemption to the Republic, on reimburſing him the immenſe expences he had been at in favour of the ſaid Republic.

This was in effect to make over Corſica for ever, for it was not probable that the Genoeſe would ever be able to redeem the Kingdom; and it was ſtill leſs probable, that if they ſhould repurchaſe it, they would be able to preſerve it againſt a Nation which had entered into a ſolemn oath to periſh rather than live under the yoke of Genoa.

So that in ſurrendering the empty and fatal ſovereignty of a country that was a heavy charge upon its hands, Genoa made in effect a good bargain; and the King of France made a better, becauſe he was powerful enough to maintain his domination in Corſica, to civiliſe, to people, and enrich it, by making agriculture and commerce flouriſh there. Beſides, there might come a time, when the poſſeſſion of Corſica would be of material advantage in the intereſts that might in future be conteſted in Italy.

The queſtion here is, whether any ſett of men have a right to ſell other men? But this is a ſcruple that is never inveſtigated in any treaty.

They began by negociating with General Paoli. He had to deal with the Miniſter of State and of War; he knew that the ſoul of this Miniſter was elevated above his birth, that he was the moſt liberal man in Europe, that he conducted himſelf with an heroic nobleneſs in all his private intereſts, and that he acted with the ſame greatneſs of mind in the intereſts of the King his Maſter. Paoli might certainly have obtained both honours and recompences, but he was intruſted with the liberty of his country. He had before his

eyes the judgment of Nations; and whatever was his deſign, he would not ſell his own. Indeed, if he had been ſo inclined, it was not in his power. The Corſicans had been inſpired with too great an enthuſiaſm for liberty, and he had himſelf augmented in them this paſſion ſo natural to man, become now not only a ſacred duty, but a ſort of rage. If he had attempted only to have moderated its exceſs, he had riſked both his life and his glory.

This glory was not in him a military one: he was more of a legiſlator than a ſoldier; his courage lay in his mind, and he directed all the operations of the war. In fine, he had the honour of reſiſting the King of France for almoſt a year. No foreign Power aſſiſted him. Some Engliſh only, enamoured of that liberty of which he was the champion, and was likely to become the victim, ſupplied him with ſome money and arms; for the Corſicans were but ill provided with the latter: they had no muſkets armed with bayonets; and even when they received them from London, the greater part of the Corſicans knew not how to manage them; they therefore preferred their common muſkets and hangers: their principal arms was their courage. This courage was ſo great, that in one of their battles near a river named Gaulo, they made a rampart of their dead, to gain time to charge behind it, before they were to make a neceſſary retreat; and even the wounded were thrown into the heap to complete the pile. Valour is found every where, but ſuch actions as this are never ſeen except among a free people. But in ſpite of all their courage, they were overcome at laſt. The Count de Vaux, ſeconded by the Marquis de Marbœuf, ſubdued the whole Iſland in leſs time than Marſhal Maillebois had conquered it before.

The Duke de Choiſeul, who directed all this enterprize, had the glory to give the King his Maſter a Province that might eaſily, if well cultivated, ſupport two hundred thouſand men, furniſh brave ſoldiers, and in a ſhort time eſtabliſh a very beneficial commerce.

It

It may be obſerved, that if France gained under Louis XIV. Alſace, Franche Comté *, and part of Flanders; it was augmented under Louis XV. with Lorraine and Corſica.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Laws.

MEN'S' underſtandings were more enlightened in the Age of Louis XIV. and the following one, than in all the ages before. It has been already ſeen how the Arts and Letters were perfected; the nation opened its eyes upon the Laws, an article hitherto neglected. Louis XIV. had ſignalized his reign by a code which was wanting in France; but this code related rather to the uniformity of the procedure, than the inveſtigation of the laws, which ought to be common to all the Provinces, uniform, invariable, and without any thing arbitrary. The criminal juriſprudence appeared, above all, to retain ſomewhat of the ancient barbarity. It was directed rather towards detecting the guilty, than defending the innocent. 'Tis an immortal honour to the Preſident De Lamoignon to have ſo often oppoſed himſelf, in the execution of ſentences, to the cruelty of the proceedings; but his voice, which was that of humanity, was ſtifled by the voice of Puſſort and the other Commiſſioners, who were all for rigour.

Perſons the beſt acquainted with theſe latter ages, have been ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſoftening our laws, as we have at length ſoftened our manners. It muſt be acknowledged, that in our manners there was as much ferocity, as of lightneſs and ignorance in our minds, 'till the happy days of Louis XIV. To be convinced of this ſad truth, we need only reflect upon the execution of Auguſtin de Thou and of Marſhal Marillac; upon

* Burgundy.

the aſſaſſination of the Marſhal d'Ancre; upon his widow condemned to the flames; upon above a ſcore of aſſaſſinations, either purpoſed or attempted againſt Henry IV.; and upon the murder of that excellent King.

The times preceding theſe were ſtill more ſhocking: we may riſe from the horrors of the civil wars, and of St. Bartholomew, up to the calamities of the age of Francis I.; and from thence, as high as Clovis, all is ſavage. The other nations were not any thing more humane. But there never were a people more infamous for aſſaſſinations and other great crimes than the French. Puniſhments were for a long time redeemed at ſtated prices *; but afterwards the laws became as atrocious as the manners of the people.

And what made theſe hardſhips more ſevere was, that the methods of proceeding were almoſt all taken from the eccleſiaſtical juriſprudence. This may be judged of from the criminal proceſs of the Knights Templars, who, to the ſhame of the country, as well as of reaſon and equity, received all their inſtructions from prieſts nominated by a Pope. Men having been ſo long governed like wild beaſts, except, perhaps, a few years under St. Louis, under Louis XII. and under Henry IV. the more their minds became civilized, the more they held in horror that barbarity, of which even ſtill there remain ſo many traces.

The Torture, which no ſubject of either Greece or Rome had ever undergone, appeared to compaſſionate and conſiderate Civilians a puniſhment worſe than death, and which ought to be reſerved for the Chatels and the Ravaillacs, of whom a whole Kingdom is intereſted in the diſcovery of their accomplices. It had been aboliſhed in England and in part of Germany; it has lately been proſcribed in an Empire of two thouſand leagues extent; and if there are not more great crimes committed

* Theſe Tables for Fines, ſo much for murder, ſo much for parricide, ſo much for crimes too ſhocking to name, preſent us with a ſad view of human nature. *Tranſlator.*

in

in that country than there are among us, it is a proof that the torture is as much to be condemned as the vices it was meant to prevent, and which it certainly does not reſtrain.

Their minds revolted alſo againſt confiſcations. They held it to be unjuſt to puniſh the children for the faults of their parents. 'Tis a maxim received at the bar, "Who confiſcates the body, confiſcates the goods;" a maxim in force in the countries where cuſtom holds the place of law. So, for example, they there ſuffer children to die for want of bread, whoſe fathers have voluntarily deſtroyed themſelves, equally with thoſe of murderers; and thus an entire family is puniſhed in every caſe for the fault of one man.

So that when the father of a family had been condemned to the galleys for life by an arbitrary ſentence *, whether for having harboured a preacher, or for having liſtened to his ſermon in a cave or deſart, the wife and children were reduced to become beggars for their bread.

That kind of juriſprudence which conſiſted in robbing orphans of their ſuſtenance, and giving to one man the property of another, was unknown during the whole period of the Roman Common wealth. Sylla introduced it indeed in his proſcriptions; but it muſt be confeſſed, that a rapine invented by Sylla was not an example to be made a precedent: and therefore this law, which ſeemed to be dictated either by inhumanity and avarice, was not followed either by Cæſar or the good Emperor Trajan, or by of the Antonines, whoſe names all nations ſtill pronounce with reſpect and eſteem. In fine, under Juſtinian confiſcation was appropriated ſolely to the crime of high-treaſon.

It appears, that in the times of the feudal anarchy the Princes and the landed Nobles, not being very rich, fell upon methods of augmenting their revenues by the condemnations of their ſubjects, and contrived to raiſe

* See the Edict of 1724, 14th May, publiſhed at the ſolicitation of Cardinal Fleury, and reviſed by him.

an income out of crimes. The laws among them being arbitrary, and the Roman juriſprudence unknown, cruel or capricious cuſtoms prevailed. But now that the power of Sovereigns is founded upon immenſe and certain opulence, their treaſuries ſtand not in need of being ſupplied by the trifling ſpoils of an unhappy family. They are generally beſtowed on the firſt who applies for them. But does it become a Citizen to enrich himſelf with the remains of another Citizen?

Confiſcation is not admitted in thoſe countries where the Roman Law is eſtabliſhed, except in the juriſdiction of the Parliament of Toulouſe. Neither is it uſed in ſome Cuſtomary Provinces *, as in the Bourbonnois, Berry, Maine, Poitou, and Brittany, where at leaſt it ſpares the landed eſtate. It was formerly eſtabliſhed at Calais, but the Engliſh aboliſhed it when they were maſters of the place. It is very extraordinary that the inhabitants of a Capital ſhould ſubmit to a law more ſevere than thoſe that are of force in ſmaller towns. So true it is, that juriſprudence has been frequently eſtabliſhed by chance, without regularity, without uniformity, as cottages are built in villages.

Who could believe, that in the year 1673, in the moſt glorious age of France, the Advocate-General Omer Talon ſhould have expreſſed himſelf thus in full Parliament, on the caſe of a Mademoiſelle de Canillac †?

"In the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, God "ſaid, If thou ſhouldſt find thyſelf in a city or in a "place where idolatry prevails, put all to the edge of "the ſword, without exception of age, of ſex, or of con-"dition. Gather together in the public places all the "ſpoils of the city, and burn both the ſpoils and the "city entirely, ſo that there remain nothing but a heap "of cinders of this place of abomination. In fine, "make a ſacrifice of it to the Lord, and retain nothing "in thy hands of the goods of this anathema ‡.

* Countries governed by uſage, by the Common Law, and not by ſtatutes. *Tranſlator.*

† Journal of the Courts, Vol. I. Page 444.

‡ Accuſed or devoted thing. *Tranſlator.*

So

" So in the crime of high-treaſon, the King is maſter " of the goods, and the children are deprived of them. " A proceſs having been obtained againſt Naboth *becauſe* " *he had ſpoken evil againſt the King*, King Ahab poſſeſſed " himſelf of his inheritance. David having been in- " formed that Mephiboſheth was engaged in the rebel- " lion, gave all his poſſeſſions to Ziba, who gave him " the intelligence. ' *Thine* be all that belonged to Me- ' phiboſheth."

The queſtion was to know who ſhould inherit the aſſets of Mademoiſelle de Canillac; effects which had been before decreed to confiſcation in the poſſeſſion of her father, granted by the King to the Keeper of the Royal Treaſury, and reſtored afterwards by the Keeper to the Teſtatrix. And it was upon this proceſs of a girl of Auvergne, that an Advocate-General referred the caſe to Ahab, King of a part of Paleſtine, who confiſcated the vineyard of Naboth, after having aſſaſſinated the proprietor with the poignard of the law; an action ſo abominable, that it has paſſed into a proverb, to inſpire mankind with a horror againſt uſurpation. The murder and the confiſcation of the goods of Mephiboſheth, grandſon of the Jewiſh petty King Saul, and ſon to Jonathan, the friend and protector of David, had not much affinity with the teſtament of this young woman *.

It was with ſuch pedantry, with ſuch a madneſs for quotations foreign to the ſubject, with ſuch an ignorance of the principles of human nature, with ſuch prejudices wrongly conceived and as ill applied, that juriſprudence has been treated by men who have borne ſome reputation in the profeſſion. We ſhall leave to the readers to think what it is unneceſſary to tell them.

If, in future times, laws more humane ſhould ſoften in France ſome uſages too rigorous, without however

* M. Voltaire ſeems to rejoice in every opportunity of ſhewing his virulence againſt the Scriptures. He here ſpeaks with contempt of the Empire of Saul, and with reprobation of this act of David. *Tranſlator.*

giving

giving a greater latitude to crimes; it is to be hoped that they will alſo reform the procedure in thoſe articles where the Digeſters of the Codes appear to have been prompted by too ſevere a zeal. Should not the criminal laws be as favourable to the innocent as formidable to the guilty? In England, a ſimple impriſonment illegally inflicted, is repaired by the Miniſter who has compelled it. But in France, the innocent perſon who has been plunged into a dungeon, and who has ſuſtained the rack, has no manner of conſolation to hope for, no damages to recover againſt any one, when it is the public Miniſter who has proſecuted him. He remains for ever branded in ſociety. The innocent branded! And why? Becauſe his bones are broken! He ought rather to excite pity and reſpect.

A ſcrutiny into crimes requires rigour; 'tis a civil war waged by human juſtice againſt vice; but there is a generoſity and a compaſſion even in war. The ſoldier is merciful; need the lawyer be cruel?

Let us here only compare in a few points the criminal proceſs of the Romans with that of the French.

Among the former, the witneſſes were publickly heard in the preſence of the accuſed, who might anſwer them, examine them himſelf, or employ an Advocate to do it. Such a procedure was frank and noble, and breathed the magnanimous ſpirit of the Romans.

Among us, every thing is carried on clandeſtinely. A ſingle Judge, with his clerk, receives the depoſitions of each witneſs ſeparately. This practice, which was firſt eſtabliſhed by Francis I. was afterwards authorized by the Commiſſioners who digeſted the Ordinance of Louis XIV. in 1670. This was owing ſolely to a miſtake.

They took into their heads, in reading the Code *de Teſtibus*, that theſe words, *teſtes intrare judicii ſecretum* *, ſignified that the witneſſes ſhould be examined in ſecret. But *ſecretum* here ſignifies the Judge's chamber. *Intrare ſecretum*, meant for ſpeaking in private, is not Latin.

* See Bornier, title 6, article 11, Of Informations.

It was therefore a ſoleciſm which eſtabliſhed this part of our juriſprudence. Some Civilians, indeed, affirm that Contumacy * ought not to be puniſhed, if the crime is not clearly proved. But other Civilians, leſs enlightened, and perhaps more followed, hold a contrary opinion; having the conſcience to pronounce, that the flight of a perſon accuſed was a proof of his crime; and that the contempt he ſhewed for juſtice, in refuſing to appear, deſerved the ſame chaſtiſement as if he had been proved guilty: ſo that, according to the ſect of Civilians which the Judge inclines to, an innocent perſon may be either ſentenced or abſolved.

There is yet ſomething more in this matter. The inferior officer of a Court often leads an ignorant villager into ſaying what he has a mind he ſhould: he makes him depoſe according to the ideas he has himſelf conceived; and dictates his anſwers, without the witneſs being ſenſible of it. I have known more than one example of this. If on the confrontation the evidence ſhould contradict any part of the teſtimony, he is puniſhed; ſo that he is obliged to "bear falſe witneſs againſt his "neighbour," for fear of ſuffering the penalty of perjury: and we have ſeen innocent perſons condemned, becauſe weak and timid witneſſes could not at firſt explain themſelves, nor afterwards dared to retract their blunder. The French criminal juriſprudence lays ſnares continually for the accuſed. It looks as if Puffort and the Chancellor Boucherat had been the enemies of mankind.

'Tis, beſides, a great abuſe in the French juriſprudence, that the reveries, and the errors, ſometimes cruel ones, of uncommiſſioned authors, who have written their own comments on the laws, have been frequently taken for the laws themſelves.

The life of man ſeems to be too much abandoned to caprice. When out of thirty Judges there are ten who are not for paſſing ſentence of death, ought the other

* The non-appearance, or refuſal to plead, of a perſon accuſed. *Tranſlator.*

twenty

twenty to over-rule them? It is plain that the crime has not been ſufficiently proved, or that it did not deſerve ſo capital an infliction, if one-third of any number of rational men ſhall declare againſt ſuch ſeverity. Some voices more ſhould not ſuffice to put a ſubject to a cruel death. In general it muſt be confeſſed, that we too often ſlay our fellow-citizens with the ſword of juſtice. When Judges condemn an innocent perſon, 'tis but a legal aſſaſſination, and of the moſt horrible kind. When they puniſh with death an offence to which ſlighter chaſtiſements are annexed in other countries, they are both cruel and impolitic. A good Government ought to render penalties uſeful. It is wiſe to oblige criminals to labour for the ſervice of the public; their deaths are of no advantage, except to the hangman.

Under the reign of Louis XIV. there were two ordinances made, which are uniform throughout the Kingdom. In the firſt, which relates to civil proceedings, the Judges are forbidden to decree in any civil matter, upon default, when the demand has not been proved. But in the ſecond, which regulates the criminal proceſs, it is not ſaid, that for want of proof the accuſed ſhall be diſmiſſed. A ſtrange thing! The law ſays, that a man who has been cited for a debt ſhall not be condemned for default of appearance, unleſs the demand be proved due; but if the queſtion affects his life, 'tis a matter of controverſy at the bar, whether the accuſed is to be condemned or not, without being convicted. They pronounce ſentence generally without trial: his abſence is conſtrued into guilt. They ſeize his effects, and ſtigmatize him.

The laws ſeem to have more conſideration for money than for lives: they permit an extortioner or a fraudulent bankrupt to defend themſelves by their Counſel, when very often an honeſt man is denied that aid! If there could be proved a ſingle caſe where an innocent perſon was vindicated by his Counſel, muſt it not be clear, that the law which deprives him of it is unjuſt?

The firſt Preſident de Lamoignon ſaid againſt this law, "That the Advocate or Counſel which it is cuſtomary

"to

" to allow to the accuſed, is not a privilege granted
" by the ordinances, nor by the laws; 'tis a liberty ac-
" quired by natural right, which is more ancient than
" all human laws. Natural reaſon teaches every man
" that he ſhould have recourſe to the ſenſe or know-
" ledge of others, when he is not himſelf ſufficiently
" poſſeſſed of them to conduct himſelf, and to borrow
" ſuccour when he does not find himſelf ſtrong enough
" for his own defence. Our ordinances have debarred
" the accuſed of ſo many advantages, that it is but juſt
" to continue to them what remains; and principally
" the Advocate, which is the moſt eſſential part of it.
" That if a compariſon was made of our proceedings
" with thoſe of the Romans and other Nations, we
" ſhould find that there is not any one ſo rigorous as
" that they obſerve in France, eſpecially ſince the or-
" dinance of 1539*."

This procedure is ſtill more rigorous ſince the ordinance of 1670. It would have been more mild, if the greater number of the Commiſſioners had thought like Mr. Lamoignon. The more they were formerly ignorant and abſurd, the more mercileſs and barbarous they became. Abſurdity condemned Marſhal d'Ancre to the flames: it has dictated a hundred other ſuch ſentences. It was abſurdity which was the firſt mover in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. When reaſon is perverted, man becomes, of courſe a brute; ſociety is then only a foreſt of wild beaſts of different ſpecies, which prey upon each other by turns; or a parcel of apes that judge the wolves and foxes. Would you metamorphoſe theſe brutes into men, you muſt begin by ſuffering them to recover their reaſon.

The feudal anarchy no longer ſubſiſts, yet many of its laws ſtill remain, which incumber the French legiſlation with an inſufferable confuſion.

Do they not judge the ſame cauſe differently in Provence and in the capital? Can the ſame man have right in Brittany, and be in the wrong in Provence?

* Proceſs Verb. de l'Ord. page 163.

But

But why confine the argument? There are as many juriſprudences as there are towns; and in the ſame Parliament the maxims of one Chamber are not thoſe of the next *.

They abide by the Roman laws in the countries of ſtatute law; and in the Provinces they are governed by cuſtom, though this uſage has no preciſion. But theſe Roman laws are to the amount of forty thouſand; and upon theſe forty thouſand laws there are a thouſand voluminous commentaries, which contradict one another.

Beſides theſe forty thouſand laws, ſome of which they quote generally at hazard, we have five hundred and forty different cuſtoms, reckoning the leſſer towns, and even ſome of the larger ones, which differ from the uſages of the principal juriſdiction; ſo that a man who rides poſt through France, changes laws oftener than he does horſes, as has been ſaid before; and an Advocate who might be an able lawyer in his own town, may be a mere Ignoramus in the neighbouring one.

What an amazing contrariety between the laws of the ſame Kingdom! In Paris, a man who has kept a houſe in the city for a year and a day, is deemed a citizen of the place. In Franche-Comté, a freeman who has reſided a year and a day in a mort-main houſe, becomes a ſlave. His collateral relations inherit not any property he might have acquired elſewhere; and his own children are reduced to beggary, if they have paſſed a year at a diſtance from the houſe where their father died. This Province is named free, but what kind of freedom is this!

And what is ſtill more deplorable is, that in Franche-Comté, in Burgundy, in the Nivernois, in Auvergne, and in ſome other Provinces, the Canons, the Monks poſſeſs ſlaves in mort-main. One often ſees officers wearing the military order of St. Louis, and covered with wounds, die mort-mains of a prieſt equally inſolent and uſeleſs to the world.

* See upon this head the Preſident Bouhier.

This

This term of mort-main, they ſay, aroſe from the following circumſtance: that formerly when one of theſe mort-main bondmen died without leaving any perſonal effects which his Lord could appropriate to himſelf, they carried him the right hand of the deceaſed: a worthy origin of ſuch a denomination!

There have been many edicts to aboliſh this cuſtom, which is a diſgrace to human nature; but the Magiſtrates who poſſeſs lands with this prerogative, elude the laws, which were only made for the public good; and the Church, which poſſeſſes bondmen, oppoſes theſe wiſe laws ſtill more than the Magiſtracy. The Eſtates-General in 1615 in vain petitioned Louis XIII. to renew the edicts elude in the reigns of his predeceſſors, and enforce their execution. The Preſident Lamoignon drew up a ſcheme for putting an end to this uſage, and for compenſating the proprietors; but this project was neglected.

In our times the King of Sardinia has deſtroyed this ſervitude in Savoy; but it remains ſtill eſtabliſhed in France, becauſe the oppreſſions in the Provinces are not felt in the capital. Whatever is at a diſtance from our obſervation never ſufficiently intereſts us.

When we would mark the limits between the civil power and the eccleſiaſtical uſages, what endleſs diſputes ariſe! Where are the bounds? Who can be able to conciliate the eternal contradictions between the King's Exchequer and the Juriſprudence? Finally, Why in criminal caſes are not the minutes of the trial written down? Is there any ſhame in giving a reaſon for their judgments? Why do not thoſe who ſit in judgment in the name of the Sovereign preſent him with their ſentences of death, before they put them into execution?

On what ſide ſoever we turn our eyes, we perceive nothing but contradictions, cruelty, incertainty, and arbitrarineſs. In fine, the venality of the Magiſtracy is a ſcandal with which France alone throughout the whole world is polluted, and from which ſhe has ever wiſhed to be purged. We have always regretted ever ſince Francis I. the times when the upright Civilian, grown grey in the ſtudy of the laws, arrived through his

his merit to the ſeat of juſtice, which he had defended by his labours, knowledge in the laws, and by his credit. Cicero, Hortenſius, and the firſt Mark Antony did not purchaſe their ſeats in the Senate. In vain has the Abbé Bourzey in his book of errors intitled, "The "Political Teſtament of Cardinal Richelieu," attempted to juſtify the ſale of the dignities in the law; in vain have other authors, more courtiers than patriots, and more actuated by perſonal intereſt than by the love of their country, purſued the traces of the Abbé Bourzey. One proof that this purchaſe is an abuſe is, that it took its riſe from another abuſe, from the diſſipation of the finances of the State. This is a ſort of ſimony, far more injurious than the ſale of a Church perferment. For if an unconnected eccleſiaſtic purchaſes a ſimple benefice, there reſults neither good or harm from it to the country in which he poſſeſſes no juriſdiction. He is not reſponſible to any one; but the Magiſtracy has the honour, the fortune, and the lives of men in its hands. We are attempting in this age to bring every thing to perfection; let us then endeavour to perfect the laws.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Progreſs of the Human Underſtandining the Age of Louis XV.

A WHOLE order aboliſhed by the ſecular power; the diſcipline of others reformed by this power; the diviſions alſo between magiſtracy and the epiſcopal authority, plainly diſcover how much prejudices are diſſipated, how far the knowledge of Government is extended, and to what degree our underſtandings are enlightened. The ſeeds of this knowledge were ſown in the laſt century; in the preſent they are every where ſprúng up, even in the remoteſt Provinces, with that true eloquence which was ſcarcely known except in Paris,

Paris, but which has ſuddenly flouriſhed in many country-towns; witneſs the diſcourſes * that have been delivered both from the bar and the Aſſembly-Chambers of ſome Parliaments; diſcourſes which are maſter-pieces of ſentiment and expreſſion, at leaſt in many reſpects. Since the times of the Dagueſſeaus, the only models were found in the capital, and theſe very rarely. A ſuperior reaſon has extended itſelf in our days, from the foot of the Pyrenean hills to the north of France. Philoſophy, by rendering the mind more juſt, and baniſhing the abſurdities of far-fetched conceits, has made more than one Province the competitors of the capital.

In general, the bar has beſt underſtood that univerſal juriſprudence, drawn from nature, which raiſes itſelf above all the laws of convention, or of ſimple authority; laws often dictated by caprice, or by the want of money; dangerous reſources, rather than uſeful laws, which are continually jarring, and forming rather a chaos than a body of legiſlation, as we have ſaid before.

The Academies have been extremely ſerviceable, by accuſtoming young gentlemen to reading; and by exciting their genius as well as emulation, through premiums.

Pure natural philoſophy has illuſtrated the neceſſary arts; and theſe arts have already begun to heal the wounds of the State, cauſed by two fatal wars. Stuffs are manufactured in a cheaper manner, by the ingenuity of one of the moſt celebrated mechanics †. An academician ‡, ſtill more uſeful by the objects that he has embraced, has brought agriculture to a much greater perfection; and a diſcerning Miniſter has at laſt permitted the exportation of corn; —a neceſſary commerce forbidden too long a time, and which ought to be limited, perhaps, as well as encouraged.

* See the diſcourſes of M. de Montclar, La Chalotais, De Caſtillon, De Servant, De Pâti, &c.

† Mr. Vauchanſon. ‡ Mr. Duhamel.

Another academician * has ſhewn the moſt advantageous means of furniſhing all the houſes of Paris with water, which was much wanted; —a project which could only be rejected either through poverty, negligence, or avarice.

A phyſician † has at laſt found out the ſecret, ſo long time ſought for, of making ſea-water potable: ſo that there remained no more but to render this experiment ſo eaſy, that it may at all times be ſerviceable, without too much expence.

If any invention can ſupply the want of knowledge of the longitude, which is with-held from us, it is that of the moſt ingenious watchmaker of France ‡, who diſputes this invention with England. But we muſt wait 'till Time puts his ſeal to all theſe diſcoveries. For it is not with an invention that has its utility and inconveniencies, a diſcovery which can be diſputed, or an opinion which may be conteſted, as with thoſe great monuments of the fine arts in poetry, eloquence, muſic, architecture, ſculpture, and painting, which at once engaged the approbation of all nations, and inſured that of poſterity, by an eclat which nothing can obſcure.

We have already ſpoken of the celebrated repoſitory of human knowledge which has appeared under the title of the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*. It is an everlaſting honour to the nation, that the officers of war both of ſea and land, ancient magiſtrates, phyſicians well-ſkilled in nature, the truly learned as well as nominal doctors, men of letters whoſe taſte has refined their knowledge, geometricians and natural philoſophers, have all contributed to this work, as uſeful as it is difficult, without any view of intereſt; without even ſeeking after fame, ſince many of them conceal their names; in ſhort, without communicating their intelligences to each other, and conſequently exempt from the ſpirit of party.

But what is yet more honourable for the country is, that in this immenſe collection, its merits triumph over

* Mr. Deparcieux. † Mr. Poiſſonnier. ‡ Mr. Le Roi.

its

its imperfections, which has never before happened. The perſecutions it has undergone, are not altogether ſo honourable for France. The ſame unfortunate ſpirit of forms, mixed with pride, envy, and ignorance, which occaſioned the ſuppreſſion of the Art of Printing in the time of Louis XI. public ſhews in the reign of Henry IV. the beginnings of ſound philoſophy under Louis XIII. and even emetics and inoculation; this ſame ſpirit, I ſay, an enemy to all inſtruction, and to every thing that can elevate the mind, gave almoſt mortal blows to this memorable undertaking. It has even been the means of rendering it not ſo perfect as it might have been, in putting on thoſe ſhackles with which reaſon muſt never be confined, becauſe temerity only ſhould be reproved, and not liberal inveſtigations, without which the human underſtanding can never make any progreſs. It is certain, that the knowledge of nature, the diſbelief of the ancient fables honoured with the name of hiſtory, and ſound metaphyſics free from the impertinences of the Schools, are the produce of this age, and that human reaſon is improving every day.

It is true, that all undertakings have not been equally fortunate. Voyages to the farther end of the world to confirm a truth that Newton has demonſtrated in his cloſet, have left doubts upon the exactneſs of meaſures. The experiment of rough iron forged or converted into ſteel, that of breeding animals in the Egyptian manner in climates very different from Egypt, and many other efforts of the like nature, have been the means of loſing much precious time, and even ruined ſome families. Too hazardous ſyſtems have diſgraced thoſe works which would have been very uſeful. A reliance has been made on deceitful experiments, to revive the ancient error, that animals could be produced without ſeed; from whence iſſued imaginations even more chimerical than thoſe of the animals. Some have puſhed the abuſe of Newton's diſcovery upon attraction even ſo far as to ſay, that infants are formed in their mother's womb by attraction; others have invented the organical moleculæ, and have carried themſelves ſo far in thier vain

ideas, as to affirm that mountains have been formed by the ſea. There would be as much truth in ſaying, that the ſea had been formed by mountains.

Who could believe that ſome geometricians have been wild enough to imagine, that in the exaltation of the ſoul, we may poſſeſs the gift of foreſeeing the future as if preſent; yet more than one philoſopher, as I have already remarked, took it into his head, from the example of Deſcartes, to put himſelf in God's place, and create a world with a word: but now, all theſe philoſophical follies are reproved by the wiſe; and even theſe fantaſtical edifices, overthrown by reaſon, have left in their ruins materials, of which reaſon itſelf has made ſome uſe.

A like extravagance has infected the moral world. There have been known underſtandings ſo blind as to undermine the very foundation of ſociety, at the time they thought to reform it. They have been mad enough to maintain, that the diſtinctions of *meum & tuum* are criminal, and that one ought not to enjoy the fruits of one's own labour; that not only all mankind are upon a level, but that they have perverted the order of nature in forming ſocieties; that men are born to be ſeparated from each other like wild beaſts; and that beavers, bees, and piſmires, confound the eternal laws by forming a republic among their kind.

Theſe impertinences, worthy of an hoſpital of madmen, have been for ſome time in faſhion, as apes are made to dance in fairs.

This atrocious phrenzy has been carried to ſuch an incredible point of abſurdity, that I do not know what ſavage mountebank it was who had the impudence to ſay, in a project of education, "That a King ſhould "not heſitate to give a hangman's daughter in marriage "to his ſon, if their taſtes, humours, and characters, "agreed †."

* Emilius, vol. iv. page 138. J. J. Rouſſeau well deſerved this contemptuous ſtricture, for this and ſome other reprehenſible paſſages in his writings. *Tranſlator.*

Theology

Theology has not been ſcreened from theſe exceſſes. Works whoſe nature is to be edifying are become defamatory libels, and have even provoked the cenſure of Parliaments, and ought to be condemned by all Academies, for the vileneſs of their compoſition.

More than one ſuch abuſe ſeems to have infeſted literature. A crowd of writers have wandered into a laboured ſtile, either violent and unintelligible, or in a total neglect of all grammar. Abſurdity has been carried ſo far as to render Tacitus ridiculous. Much has been written in this age, but genius belonged to the former. The French language was carried, in the time of Louis XIV. to the higheſt point of perfection, in all kinds; not in uſing terms new or unuſeful, but in employing with art all the neceſſary words which were in uſe. It is at preſent to be feared, that this fine language will degenerate, in conſequence of that unfortunate facility in writing which the laſt age has handed down to poſterity; for models produced a crowd of imitators, and theſe imitators always endeavour to make up by words what they want in genius: ---the language which they cannot embelliſh, they diſfigure. France was particularly diſtinguiſhed in the flouriſhing reign of Louis XIV. by the ſingular perfection to which Racine raiſed the theatre, and by the charms of expreſſion, which he brought to ſuch a degree of elegance and purity as had been before his time entirely unknown: notwithſtanding, after him, writings were applauded, as barbarous as they were ridiculous in their conſtruction.

It is againſt this decay that the French Academy is continually oppoſing; it preſerves good taſte from total ruin, by agreeing to beſtow rewards upon ſuch pieces only as are written at leaſt with ſome degree of purity, and in reproving ſuch as offend in point of ſtyle.

It is true that the Fine Arts, which have given France ſuch a ſuperiority over other nations, are much degenerated; and the Kingdom would be now without glory of this kind, if it was not for a ſmall number of works of genius, ſuch as the Four Seaſons, and the fifteenth

chapter of Beliſarius, if it may be permitted to place proſe by the ſide of the moſt elegant poeſy.

But finally, literature, altho' often corrupted, occupies almoſt all the youth who are well brought up; it has even ſpread into thoſe claſſes of life which were before ignorant of it. It is to this we are indebted for the baniſhment of groſs debaucheries, and the preſervation of the politeneſs introduced into the nation by Louis XIV. and his mother.

This literary knowledge, uſeful in all conditions of life, ſoothes public calamities, by directing the mind to agreeable objects, which would otherwiſe be too much depreſſed by the contemplation of human miſeries.

FINIS.

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